Wm Baldwin Steele Hill

THE LIVES OF THE Twelve Cæſars,

The Firſt

EMPERORS of *ROME*.

Written in Latin by
C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

And now done into Engliſh by ſeveral Hands.

With the Life of the Author, and Notes upon thoſe Paſſages which relate to the *Roman* Cuſtoms.

LICENSED *Feb.* 14. 168$\frac{5}{7}$.

Ro. L' Eſtrange.

London, Printed by *Thomas Hodgkin*,
MDCLXXXVIII.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

AUTHOR

Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.

Caius Suetonius Tranquillus was a *Roman* born; his Father who call'd himself *Suetonius Lenis*, (a Surname differing in ſound only from that which his Son bore) being by extraction only an ordinary Gentleman of *Rome*, yet was preferr'd to the Tribuneſhip of a Legion by the Emperor *Otho*, whoſe ſide he took againſt *Vitellius*. Our *Suetonius* was born about the beginning of the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, as may be collected from his own words (*Vit. Neron. c. ult.*) His firſt years in all probability he paſs'd at *Rome*; for he ſays, when he was a Youth he remembers himſelf to have ſeen an old Man of Ninety inſpected in open Court whether he was circumciſed or not.

up to Manhood, he betook himſelf to the Bar, where he practiſed with great Reputation; not but that he had a Tribune's Office given him, but whether it were that he lik'd not a military life, or that he underſtood not Martial affairs, he declin'd it and before he was muſter'd, by the means of his good Friend *Pliny Secundus*, who procur'd the place for him, he got it to be transferr'd upon his Kinſman *Cæſennius Sylvanus*. In his pleading of Cauſes, it was a great hindrance to him that he was not the Father of Children; there being a Law at *Rome*, by which many Immunities and Privileges were given to ſuch; ſome of theſe were, a freedom from bearing any Office which requir'd perſonal Attendance; and a preference at the Bar, that their Motion might be firſt heard; very conſiderable advantages to one in his circumſtances. Now the Emperors had always a power of granting the like to thoſe who were childleſs; but it being lookt upon as contrary to Law, *Trajan*, who was an excellent Prince, beſtow'd theſe favours very ſparingly, and would not exceed his number which the Senate had allow'd. In this caſe his old Friend *Pliny* ſolicits for him, and that with ſucceſs; and becauſe his Letter to the Emperor gives us a true Character of our

Author,

Author, and is a great inſtance of the ſtrict Friendſhip that was between them, I'll endeavour with ſome licence to make it Engliſh.

Plin. *Epiſt. lib.* 10. XCV.

SIR,

I have lately taken into my Acquaintance Suetonius Tranquillus, *a man of great probity, honour and learning, allur'd by the ſweetneſs of his Converſation, and being much pleas'd with the ſcope of his Studies; and ſtill the nearer I approach and the more I know him, I love him the better. He has not been ſo fortunate in his Marriage, but that the Privilege of three Children is very neceſſary to him in his buſineſs at the Bar, which in the opinion of his Friends he well deſerves. By me he beſeeches You would be pleaſed to ſupply what his ill Fortune has denied him. I know, Sir, the high value of the favour I beg, but I am begging of you, whoſe moſt bounteous indulgence to all my Requeſts I have experienc'd; and you may gather with what earneſtneſs I deſire this, becauſe If I had been cold in my wiſhes, I would have ſtaid till I could have ask'd it by word of mouth.*

To this Letter *Trajan* gave an Anſwer to the ſatisfaction of both Friends, conferring on *Suetonius* the Privilege he deſir'd. After the death of *Trajan*, our Author was made a Secretary to the Emperor *Adrian*, who not much caring for his Empreſs *Sabina*, ſeveral of his Courtiers took the liberty to ſlight and affront her; among whom *Septicius Clarus* and *Suetonius* over-did the matter, and were therefore turn'd out of their places. This is as far as we can carry the Hiſtory of our Author. It remains that we ſay ſomewhat concerning either his Work or his way of Writing: And this will beſt be done by reciting the Opinions of Learned men in the point, of whom *Pliny* abovenam'd ought to be the firſt; who having in a Copy of Verſes promiſed to ſome Friends of his this Work of *Suetonius*, and he delaying the publication of it, in this Letter he urges him to let it come abroad.

Plin. *Epiſt. lib.* 5. XI.

My Suetonius,

At laſt let the credit of my * *Hendecaſyllables be made good, in which I promiſed your Writings to thoſe who are Friends to us both. They are ask'd for every day and earneſtly required. I am half afraid, they*

* *A ſort of Verſe conſiſting of a Dactyl, a Spondee, and three Trochaics, in all eleven ſyllables.*

they ſhould enter an Action againſt me for breach of my word. I deny not but that I am ſlow my ſelf in publiſhing any thing; but you outdo me by much in delays and put off's. Therefore let's have no more of theſe rubs, or elſe have a care leſt I force that from you by ſome bitter Iambicks, which a ſofter and more kindly way of verſifying could not procure. Your Work is finiſh'd, and in all its parts accompliſh'd, the farther applying of the File to it does not burniſh it any longer, but wear it. *Suffer me to ſee the Title, let me once hear of the publication of the Works of my dear* Tranquillus. *'Tis but reaſon that we who are Friends, ſhould mutually afford and enjoy all the pleaſures which we can contribute to each other.*

'Twere a Soleciſm upon Learning and Ingenuity (one would think) for any modern Encomiaſt after this to exerciſe his pains upon this admirable Writer. But there are thoſe of the higheſt Form who thought that he who wrote ſo as to be read by all Poſterity, ought to be commended by every ſucceeding Age. Hence it was that hardly any Century paſs'd without an applauſe for our Hiſtorian. *Flavius Vopiſcus* calls him a moſt correct and candid Writer: *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſays

he was inexpreſſibly fine, and *Auſonius* that he was extreamly elegant. After this St. *Jerom* (*Epiſt. ad Deſid. tom.* 4.) profeſſes himſelf to have made *Suetonius* his Pattern, when he wrote the Lives of thoſe Illuſtrious men who ſucceeded the times of the Apoſtles: And *Eraſmus* in the name of the modern Criticks ſhall give his Teſtimony, who ſays thus, *I ſuppoſe it is on all hands agreed among the Learned, that for what relates to the truth of Hiſtory, the firſt place is due to* Suetonius, *who, as one wittily ſaid, wrote the Lives of the Cæſars with the ſame liberty with which themſelves led them.* And what greater thing can be ſaid of any Writer, than that *Pliny* lov'd him, St. *Jerom* imitated him, and *Eraſmus* highly approv'd him.

A N

AN INDEX

Of the ſeveral MATTERS

Contain'd in the

TWELVE BOOKS

OF

Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.

Upon the

TWELVE CÆSARS.

BOOK I. *Julius Cæſar.*

CErtain *Accidents that befel him when he was young,* Chap. 1.

His firſt taking up Arms and Progreſs in the Wars, c. 2, 3.

His Accuſation of Dolabella, *and Retirement to* Rhodes, c. 3.

His being taken by Pirates, ibid.

His

His Actions againſt Mithridates, ibid.
He is made a Tribune of the Soldiers, Chap. 4.
A Queſtor in the farther Spain, c. 6.
His return to Rome *and the ſuſpicion he fell under,* c. 7. *and* 8.
His Ædileſhip, and various Tranſactions therein, c. 9, 10, 11.
His High-Prieſthood, c. 12.
His Prætorſhip, 13, 14, 15, 16.
His Government of the Province of Spain, c. 17.
His return to Rome, ibid.
His Conſulſhip, c. 18, 19, 20.
His Marriage with Calpurnia, c. 21.
His Government of Gallia, c. 22.
His various Arts to conform and ſtrengthen his Power, c. 23. 24.
His Atcheivements during the Nine years that he Commanded in the Province, c. 25.
The death of his Mother, Daughter and Neece, c. 26.

His going about to alter the Government.

Occaſions given him through the Conſternation of the Senate, c. 26.
His Munificence to the People and Soldiers, ibid.
His Arts to preſerve Pompey's *Friendſhip, and oblige all ſorts of People,* c. 27.
And Foreign Princes, c. 28.
He baffles the Endeavours of the Marcelli *to ſubvert his deſigns,* c. 28, 29.

The Civil War.

Cæſar *paſſes into the nether* Gallia, *and calls a Council at* Ravenna, c. 30.

The

The Pretences and Causes of the Civil War, ibid.
His first taking up Civil Arms, and his crossing Rubicon, *Chap.* 31, 32.
His Atchievements related in order, *c.* 34, 35.
His overthrows receiv'd by his Lieutenant, *c.* 36.
His five Triumphs, *c.* 37.
His Liberality to his Soldiers and People, *c.* 38.
His Spectacles of several sorts, *c.* 39.

His Reformation of the Government.

He reforms the Calendar, *c.* 40.
Supplies the Vacancies of the Senate, *c.* 41.
And admits the People to share in Election of Magistrates, ibid.
He takes care to repeople the City, *c.* 42.
His Administration of Justice, *c.* 43.
He designs the Ornament of the City, and the enlargement of his Dominions, *c.* 44.
His Stature, Complexion, and Curiosity in dressing himself, *c.* 45.
His Habitation, aud neatness in his House, *c.* 46.
A great Purchaser of Antiquities and handsom Slaves, *c.* 47.
His Entertainments, *c.* 48.
His Chastity, *c.* 49.
A great and expensive lover of Women, *c.* 50.
He had to do with several Provincial Ladies, *c.* 51.
His Abstinence, *c.* 52.
His ways to raise Money, *c.* 53.
His Eloquence and Military Skill, *c.* 54.
His Writings, *c.* 55, 56.
His Exercises and dispatch, *c.* 57.
Whether more bold or wary, *c.* 58.
No Admirer of Religious Ceremonies, *c.* 59.
His methods in making War, *c.* 60.

His

His remarkable Horſe, Chap. 61.
His Reſolution, c. 62, 63, 64.
What Soldiers he made choice of, c. 65.
His love to his Soldiers, c. 67.
The Soldiers fidelity and reſpect to him c. 68.
His Army never mutiny'd in Gaul. c. 69.
How he carry'd himſelf toward thoſe that mutiny'd, c. 70.
His Fidelity to his Clients, c. 71.
His Paſſion for his Friends, c. 72.
Forgetful of Revenge, c. 73.
His Moderation and Clemency, c. 75.
The Cauſes of his Death, c. 76, 77, 78, 79.
The Number of Perſons engag'd in the Conſpiracy, c. 80.
The Prodigies preceding his Murder, c. 81.
He is murder'd in the Senate, c. 82.
His Will open'd and read, c. 83.
His Funeral, c. 84.
The Fury of the Rabble againſt the Conſpirators, c. 85.
Why he ſlighted the Preſages of his death and the Remonſtrances of his Friends, c. 86.
His death ſuch as he deſir'd, c. 87.
His Age, c. 88.
The fatal ends of his Aſſaſſins, c. 89.

The ſecond BOOK.

Cæſar Auguſtus.

THE Octavian *Family and the Anceſtors of* Auguſtus, Chap. 1, 2.
Of his Father Octavius *and his Actions,* c. 3.
His Death, Wives and Children, c. 4.

The

The Contents.

The Place and Time of Auguſtus's *Birth*, *Chap.* 5.
The Place where he was nurs'd, *c.* 6.
His various Sir-names, *c.* 7.
And Epitome of his Life, *c.* 8.
His return from Apollonia, *c.* 10.
The War of Modena, ibid. &c.
Of Philippi, *c.* 13.
Of Peruſium, *c.* 14, 15.
Of Sicily, *c.* 16.
Of Actium, *c.* 17, 18.
Many Conſpiracies againſt him, *c.* 19.
Provinces Conquer'd partly by his own Conduct, partly by his Lieutenants, *c.* 20, 21.
The Fame of his Virtue and Moderation among the Parthians, ibid.
The Temple of Janus *ſhut up twice*, ibid.
His Diſaſters and Defeats, *c.* 22.
His Reformations in Military Diſcipline, *c.* 23, 24.
The Magiſtracies which he bore, *c.* 25.
His Thirteen Conſulſhips, ibid.
His Triumvirate for ten years, *c.* 26.
His Tribunitian Authority, ibid.
His Thoughts of reſigning the Republick, *c.* 27.
His publick Building, *c.* 28.
He divides the City into Wards, *c.* 29.
High ways by him repair'd, ibid.
And Temples repair'd, ibid.
His High-Prieſthood, and what he did therein, *c.* 30.
He ſuppreſſes High way Men and viſits the Jails, *c.* 31.
Suppreſs'd the New Colleges, ibid.
Took away many occaſions of Law-ſuits, ibid.
He makes a Reformation among the Judges, and of the Laws themſelves, ibid.
His diligence in giving Judgment, *c.* 32.

Some

Some Laws he revis'd, ſome he made new, *Chap.* 33, 34.
The Senate reform'd, and various Inſtitutions concerning the ſame, *c.* 35.
New Offices erected, *c.* 36.
He rewards Military Worth, *c.* 37.
The Cuſtom of Tranſvection reviv'd, ibid.
Several Miſcellanie Inſtitutions of this Prince, *c.* 38, 39.
His Liberality to all Orders, *c.* 40.
His Frugality. *c.* 41.
The variety and Magnificence of his Publick Spectacles, *c.* 42.
His Orders about the Theatre, *c.* 43, 44.
His Government of Italy, *c.* 45.
Of the Provinces, *c.* 46.
Of Kingdoms and ally'd Princes, *c.* 47.
The diſtribution of his Military Forces, *c.* 48.
His ſigning Diſpatches, *c.* 49, 50.
His Clemency, *c.* 51.
And Moderation. *c.* 52, 53, 54, 55, 56.
Highly belov'd by the People, *c.* 57, 58, 59.
And by the Princes his Allies, *c.* 60.
His particular Conduct from his Youthful years, *c.* 61.
His Wives, *c.* 62.
His Children, *c.* 63.
His Grand-Children, *c.* 64, 65.
His Friendſhip, *c.* 66.
His Behaviour toward his Domeſtick Servants, *c.* 67.
The Vices of his Youth, *c.* 68.
His Adulteries, *c.* 69.
His Extravagant Supper, *c.* 70.
A diſquiſition into the Aſperſions laid upon him, *c.* 71.

His Continency and Frugality, Chap. 72.
His Great Entertainments, c. 74.
Upon Feſtivals and Holy-days, c. 75.
Sparing in his Diet, c. 76.
No way addicted to Drink, c. 77.
His times of ſleeping, c. 78.
His Shape and Lineaments, c. 79, 80.
His Sickneſſes, c. 81.
His care of his Health, c. 82.
His Exerciſes, c. 83.
His Studies, c. 84.
His Writings, c. 85.
His Stile, and care to expreſs himſelf, c. 86.
Never Curious of his Orthography, c. 88.
His addiction to the Greek *Learning,* c. 89.
His Religion, c. 90, 91.
His Opinion of the Auguries, c. 92.
His obſervation of Foreign Ceremonies, c. 93.
The Omens that preceeded his Birth, c. 94.
Other Omens of his Grandeur, c. 95, 96.
Omens preceding his Death, c. 97.
His ſickneſs and the Cauſe of it, c. 98.
His Behaviour during his ſickneſs, ibid. *and* c. 99.
His Death, ibid. *and* 100.
His Funeral Pomp and Conſecration, c. 100.
His laſt Will and Teſtament, c. 101.

The third BOOK.

Tiberius Nero Cæſar.

THe *Family of the* Claudii, Chap. 1.
Their extraordinary Services to the Publick. c. 2.
Tiberius *of the ſame Family,* c. 3.

His Father, Chap. 4.
The Place and Time of his Birth, c. 5.
His Infancy and Childhood, c. 6.
His Youthful Manhood and his Wives, c. 7.
His first Essays toward publick Business, c. 8.
His Military Atcheivements, c. 9.
His sudden retirement and the Reasons of it, c. 10.
He lives privately at Rhodes, c. 11.
He desires to return but is deny'd, ibid.
He stays at Rhodes *against his Will and in great Contempt*, c. 12, 13,
His return after eight years, c. 14.
After his return he gives himself to ease and quiet, c. 15.
His Adoption, ibid.
Elected Tribune a second time and Conquers Illyricum, c. 16.
He enters the City in a kind of Triumph, c. 17.
He goes into Germany, c. 18.
Reforms the Military Discipline, c. 19.
He returns to Rome *and triumphs*, c. 20.
He jointly administers the Government of the Provinces with Augustus, c. 21.
A second Expedition into Illyricum *intended, but recall'd upon the Death of* Augustus, ibid.
Augustus *doubtful whether he should leave him the Empire*, ibid.
He puts young Agrippa *to Death, then publishes the death of* Augustus, c. 22.
He convenes the Senate, c. 23.
His dissimulation in refusing the Title of Emperor, c. 24.
The Reasons for it, c. 25.
He leads a Civil Life at first; c. 26.
A great Enemy to Flattery, c. 27.
Little concern'd at scandalous Reflections, c. 28.

Tender

The Contents.

Tender in paying every man the Reſpect due to his Quality, Chap. 29.
He ſeem'd to reſtore the Senate their Ancient Dignity, c. 30.
He never complain'd when things were carry'd contrary to his Inclination, c. 31.
He reprov'd ſuch Generals as fail'd to adviſe the Senate of their Tranſactions, c. 32.
He aſſum'd the Soveraign Power by degrees, c. 33.
He retrenches the Expences of publick ſights, c. 34.
Several particular Acts of his Severity, c. 35.
He aboliſhes foreign Ceremonies, c. 36.
He provides againſt Robbers and ſeditions, c. 37.
He ſtirr'd not out of Rome *in two years,* c. 38.
He retires into Campania, c. 39.
He withdraws to Capreæ, c. 40.
Grows Negligent of the Commonwealth, c. 41.
He owns and practiſes the Vices which he had diſſembl'd, c. 42.
His Debauchery with Women, c. 43.
A particular Abomination of his, c. 44.
His unnatural abuſe of Women, c. 45.
His Avarice. c. 46.
His Buildings, c. 47.
His Magnificence in Publick very rare, c. 48.
His Injuſtice and Rapine, c. 49.
His hatred of his own Kindred, c. 50.
And of his own Mother, c. 51.
He neither lov'd his own Son nor Germanicus, c. 52.
His unkindneſs to his Daughter-in-law Agrippina, c. 53.
His Grand Children, c. 54.
His advancing Ælius Sejanus, c. 55.
His unkindneſs to his Grecian Companions, c. 56.
Symptoms of his Cruel Nature from his Childhood, c. 57.

The Contents.

His Acts of Cruelty afterwards, Chap. 58, 59, 60.
Several other Instances of his Cruelty and the Miseries of his time, c. 61.
The manner of Drusus's *death makes his Cruelty Insupportable,* c. 62.
He is hated for his Actions, c. 63.
His Daughter-in-Law and Grand Children travel in Chains, c. 64.
He defeats the Projects of Sejanus, c. 65.
Gall'd by the numerous reproaches heap'd upon him, c. 66.
He expresses his Miseries to the Senate, c. 67.
The description of his Person, c. 68.
No great admirer of Religion, c. 69.
A Promoter of the Liberal Arts, c. 70.
He seldom us'd the Greek Language, c. 71.
He never assay'd to return but twice to Rome *during his retirement,* c. 72.
His tame Dragon, ibid.
His Death, c. 73.
Omens preceding, c. 74.
The joy of the People upon his death, c. 75.
His two Wills, c. 76.

The fourth BOOK.

C. Cæsar Caligula.

GErmanicus *the Father of* Caligula, Chap. 1, 2, 3.
His death in Syria, 1.
His death imputed to Tiberius, c. 2.
His Elogy, c. 3.
Belov'd of the People, c. 4, 5, 6.
His Wife and Children, c. 7.
Caligula *born,* c. 8.

The

The Contents.

The Name of Caligula, *whence,* Chap. 9.
His Childhood and Adoleſcency, c. 10.
Symptoms of his cruel and wicked diſpoſition, c. 11.
His Wife Junia Claudilla, c. 12.
His attempt to remove Tiberius *by Poiſon,* ibid.
He obtains the Empire to the Wiſh of all Mankind, c. 13.
The abſolute Management of Affairs is deliver'd into his hands, c. 14.
His ſickneſs and the Peoples diſtraction upon it, ibid.
His Popular inſinuations into the Peoples affection, c. 15.
His moſt laudable Acts, c. 16.
His Conſulſhips, c. 17.
His munificence to the People, the Senate and the Equeſtrian Order, c. 18.
His Shews and Spectacles, c. 18, 19, 20.
His Structures, c. 21.
His Arrogancy toward Gods and Men, c. 22.
His Pride and Contempt of his neareſt Relations, c. 23.
His Inceſts with his Siſters and Proſtitution of them, c. 24.
His Marriages how contracted and diſſolv'd, c. 25.
His haughty Carriage toward the Senate and others, c. 26.
His fierceneſs and cruelty, c. 27.
His Barbarity, c. 28.
His Savage Expreſſions, c. 29, 30.
His wicked Wiſh. c. 31.
His Inhumanity in the midſt of his Recreations and Feſts, c. 32, 33.
His embitter'd Malice and Envy againſt Perſons of all Ages, c. 34, 35.
He neither ſpar'd his own nor the Chaſtity of any other Perſon, c. 36.

The Contents.

The Profuſeneſs of his Expence, Chap. 37.
His Rapine and Extortion, c. 38, 39.
His Impoſts and Cuſtoms, till then new and unheard of, c. 40, 41.
He complains of his Poverty and is reliev'd, c. 42.
His Ridiculous Expedition into Germany, c. 43, 44, 45, 46.
His care for the ordering of his Triumph, c. 47.
His horrid deſign to have murder'd the Legions, c. 48.
His ſevere deeds and ſayings upon his return, c. 49.
His Perſon deſcrib'd, c. 50.
His extream Confidence and extraordinary fear c. 51.
His Apparel and uſual dreſs, c. 52.
What kindneſs he had for the Liberal Sciences, c. 53.
What other Arts he practis'd and affected, c. 54.
His extraordinary kindneſs to ſuch as he fanſy'd, c. 55.
The Conſpiracies againſt his Life, and laſt of Caſſius Chærea, c. 56.
The Prodigies that portended his Murther, c. 57.
The time and manner of his Murther, c. 58.
His ordinary Burial and the Murther of his Wife and Child, c. 59.
The Condition of thoſe times, and an Obſervation of the Name of Caius. c. 60.

The fifth BOOK.

Tiberius Claudius Cæſar.

THe *Nativity of his Father, his Atcheivements, and the Honours done him after his death,* Chap. 1.
The Birth of Claudius, *and his Names,* c. 2.

His

The Contents.

His Childhood and Adoleſcency, ibid.
Deſpis'd for his Stupidity, Chap. 3.
The judgment of Auguſtus *concerning him,* c. 4.
How he liv'd under Tiberius, c. 5. 6.
How he liv'd under Caius, c. 7.
The Emperor puts daily affronts upon him, c. 8.
No leſs threatn'd with ſeveral hazards of his Life and Honour, c. 9.
He aſcends the Throne by a Miraculous chance, c. 10.
Being come to the Empire, he ſtudies his own and the publick ſecurity, c. 11.
His Offices of Piety to Auguſtus, M. Antony, Tiberius *and others,* ibid.
His modeſty in aſſuming grandeur to himſelf, c. 12.
Favour'd by the People, ibid.
Several Conſpiracies againſt him, c. 13.
His Conſulſhips, c. 14.
His aſſiduity, yet unconſtant humour in hearing and determining Cauſes, c. 15.
His Cenſorſhip and how he manag'd it, c. 16.
His Expeditions, c. 17.
His Induſtry to preſerve the City from Fire and Famine, c. 18.
His Structures and publick Works, c. 19, 20.
His ſhews and Liberality to the People, c. 21.
His Alterations in military Diſcipline and Civil Government, c. 22, 23, 24, 25.
His Wedlocks, c. 26.
His Children, c. 27.
His demeanour toward his enfranchis'd Bondmen, c. 28.
At the diſpoſal of his Wife and his Servants, c. 29.
His Perſon and his Conſtitution, c. 30, 31.
Magnificent in his Entertainments, c. 32.
His extraordinary Appetite, a little ſleeper, but luſtful toward Women, c. 33.

A great Gameſter, ibid.
Of a cruel and bloody diſpoſition, Chap. 34.
His extraordinary diſtruſt and ſuſpition, c. 35.
His dread of bare and idle reports, c. 36.
The Cauſe of the death of ſeveral Perſons, c. 37.
His Choler and Paſſion, c. 38.
His want of conſideration and forgetfulneſs, c. 39.
His wonderful careleſſneſs of what he ſaid or did, c. 40.
His addiction to Hiſtory, and what Hiſtories he wrote, c. 41.
His veneration for the Greek Language, c. 42.
He repents his Marriage with Agrippina, c. 43.
His laſt Will and Teſtament, c. 44.
His Death, Obſequies and Conſecration, c. 45.
The Preſages of his death, c. 46.

The ſixth BOOK.

Nero Cæſar.

OF *the* Domitian *Family and Family of the* Ænobarbi, Chap. 1.
His Great Great Grand-father Cneus Domitius, c. 2.
The Son of Cneus *the beſt of all the race*, c. 3.
He the Father of Domitius, c. 4.
Who begate the Father of Nero, *in every part of his Life deteſtable*, c. 5.
The Birth of Nero, c. 6.
What he was when very young, c. 7.
He comes to the Empire at ſeventeen years of Age, and by what means, c. 8.
He begins his Reign with a pretended Oſtentation of Piety, c. 9.

Farther Teſtimonies of his Vertuous Inclinations, Chap. 10.
His Shews and Plays, c. 11, 12.
The Entry of Tiridates *into the City*, c. 13.
His Conſulſhips, c. 14.
His Adminiſtration of Juſtice, c. 15.
His new form of Building, c. 16.
His way to prevent the forging of Deeds, c. 17.
His deſign to withdraw his Forces out of Britain, c. 18.
His Progreſs into Foreign Countries, c. 19.
His addiction to Muſick, c. 20.
And Study of Applauſe in that Science, ibid.
His Condeſcentions to ſing and act in publick, c. 21.
A Paſſionate admirer of Horſes, c. 22.
His Ambition to be ſeen driving Chariots by the People, ibid.
His Reply to a Græcian *that commended his Voice and deſir'd him to ſing*, ibid.
He puts in at all Tryals of Skill, c. 23.
His ſubmiſſion to the Laws and Rules of Publick Meetings for Tryals of Skill, c. 24.
His return from Græce, *and his publick Entry into* Naples, c. 25.
His frolicking and ſcowring about the Streets, c. 26.
His Riot and Luxury, c. 27.
His unlawful Pleaſures and Contaminations of marry'd Women, c. 28.
His proſtitution of his own Chaſtity, c. 29.
His exorbitant Profuſeneſs, c. 30.
His vaſt Buildings and other Prodigious works, c. 31.
His Rapine and Extortion, c. 32.
His Parricides and Murders, c. 33.
His Practices againſt his Mother, whom he caus'd to be kill'd, and view'd her part by part after ſhe was murther'd, c. 34.

The Contents.

The Horrors that seiz'd him after her death. ibid.
His Wives, Chap. 35.
A Blazing Star portending his downfal; and the Conspiracy of Piso *discover'd,* c. 36.
He gives the full swinge to his Cruelty, c. 37.
He sets Rome *on fire,* c. 38.
Other Calamities attending his Inhumanity, c. 39.
His patience in hearing the Execrations and Reproaches that were cast upon him, ibid.
The Gauls *revolt under* Julius Vindex, c. 40.
His ociancy and careleſneſs upon the News of his approaching troubles, ibid.
He returns to Rome, c. 41.
His heart fails him upon the news of Galba's *revolt,* c. 42.
His deteſtable Projects at the beginning of theſe Inſurrections, c. 43.
He prepares to march againſt the Revolters, c. 44.
Other accidents make for Nero's *overthrow,* c. 45.
The Portents that preceded his Ruine, c. 46.
His behaviour upon Intelligence of the Revolt of the reſt of the Army, c. 47.
He retires to a Houſe belonging to his enfranchis'd Bondman Phanus; *His behaviour there,* c. 48, 49.
He cuts his own Throat with the help of Epaphroditus, ibid.
His Funeral, c. 50.
His Stature and Complexion, c. 51.
His Proficiency in Learning and Poetry, c. 52.
His delight in painting and plaiſter of Paris work, c. 53.
His affection to wreſtling and the Gymnic *Sports,* ibid.
His deſign to out-do Hercules, ibid.
His deſign of introducing Hydraulicks, Choraulicks, *&c.* c. 54.

The Contents.

His Ambition of Fame and Immortality, Chap. 55.
His Contempt of Religion, c. 56.
The joy of the People upon the news of his death, c. 57.

The ſeventh BOOK.

Servius Sulpitius Galba.

THe Line of the Cæſars *fails in* Nero; *the Sign that foreboded the Revolution,* Chap. 1.
Galba *ſucceeds,* c. 2.
The Reaſon of the Sirname of Galba, c. 3.
Galba's *Anceſtors,* ibid.
Galba *when born; his Childhood, and the Portents of his grandeur,* c. 4.
His Studies and Wives, c. 5.
His Veneration for Livia, ibid.
His honours both at home and abroad, c. 6.
His Severity in Military Diſcipline, ibid.
He Governs Africa *with great Severity and Juſtice,* c. 7.
He receives Triumphal Ornaments, and the honour of High-Prieſt a Third time, c. 8.
How he liv'd for the moſt part under Nero, ibid.
He is ſent Governour into Spain, *and the Prodigies that portended him the Empire,* ibid.
His Behaviour in Spain, c. 9.
He hears of the Revolt of Gallia, ibid.
He aſcends the Tribunal, and is ſaluted Emperor; and the order which he took for the management of his Affairs, c. 10.
He takes upon him the Title of the Roman *Peoples General,* ibid.
The Heavens favour his deſigns, ibid.

His

His designs are disturb'd, and himself in great danger, ibid.
The death of Vindex *troubles him, but upon the death of* Nero *he assumes the Title of* Cæsar, Chap. 11.
He enters the City, not well receiv'd upon the report of his Cruelty and Covetousness, c. 12.
How he govern'd the Empire, ibid.
Govern'd himself by three Persons, c. 13, 14, 15.
Disgusted by all the degrees and Orders of the Roman *People, and hated among the Soldiers,* c. 16.
The German *Army first revolts,* ibid.
He adopts Piso, c. 17.
The Prodigies that attended his Exit, c. 18.
He gives Otho *an Opportunity to accomplish his Enterprise,* c. 19.
He is murder'd, c. 20.
His Stature and shape, c. 21.
His common Customs and Inclinations, c. 22.
His Age, and the honours decreed him by the Senate, c. 23.

The eighth BOOK.

M. Salvius Otho.

His Ancestors, and Father, Chap. 1.
His Nativity, and course of Life when young, c. 2.
How he liv'd under Nero, c. 3.
He preserves Poppæa Sabina *from* Nero, *but treacherously,* ibid.
For which reason he is sent out of the way into Spain, ibid.
To revenge himself he assists Galba, c. 4.

The Contents.

He conceives great hopes of the Empire; upon the Adoption of Piſo, *he betakes himſelf to Arms*, Chap. 5.
The courſe which he ſo took to obtain the Empire, to murder Galba, c. 6.
His actions at the beginning of his Reign, c. 7.
The Ghoſts of Galba *terrifie him*, ibid.
The beginnings of the Vitellian *War*, c. 8.
The Fidelity of the Pretorian *Bands to him*, ibid.
Otho's *Expedition proſperous at firſt*, c. 9.
Overthrown at Bebriacum *he reſolves to kill himſelf*, ib.
His abomination of Civil War, c. 10.
The reaſon of his reſolution to kill himſelf, ibid.
His laſt Acts and his ſelf-murder, c. 11.
His form, habit and manners, c. 12.
His death reconciled him to the good Opinion of the Soldiers, ibid.

The ninth BOOK.

Aulus Vitellius.

THe *Original of the* Vitellii, Chap. 1.
His Grand-father and his Sons, Quintus Publius *and Lucius*, ibid.
Lucius *a great Flatterer*, c. 2.
Aulus Vitellius *born, and his Adoleſcency*, c. 3.
How he liv'd under Caius, Claudius *and* Nero, c. 4.
Honours heap'd upon him, and manag'd with different deſign and Reputation, c. 5.
His Wives and Children, c. 6.
Sent into the lower Germany *by* Galba, c. 7.
He courts the Affection of the Soldiers, and is ſaluted Emperor, c. 8.

His

The Contents.

His Acts and Sayings in his March out of Germany *to* Rome, Chap. 9, 10.
He enters the City, and begins his Government ignominiously, c. 11.
He is govern'd by a Stage-player and a Chariot-driver, c. 12.
His unseasonable Gluttony, c. 13.
His Cruelty, c. 14.
In the eighth Month of his Reign the Armies revolt, c. 15.
He desires to resign the Empire, ibid.
He sends to capitulate with the Enemy, ibid.
He flies privately out of the City, but returns again, c. 16.
He is taken by the Enemies Avant-Courriers, and ignominiously slain, c. 17.
His Age and the Omen of his fall, c. 18.

The tenth BOOK.

T. Fl. Vespasianus.

OF *the* Flavian *Family*, Chap. 1.
The Grand-father and Father of Vespasian, ibid.
The Birth and Education of Vespasian, c. 2.
His Employments, ibid.
His Wives, Children and Concubine, c. 3.
How he liv'd under Claudius, c. 4.
How under Nero, ibid.
Made General of the War against the Jews, ibid.
After the death of Nero *and* Galba *he conceives hopes of obtaining the Empire*, c. 5.
The Prodigies that encourag'd him, ibid.
He made no attempt till importun'd by his Friends, c. 6.
The Mæsian *Soldiers elect him Emperor*, ibid.

The

The Contents.

The Legions ſwear fealty to him in Ægypt, Chap. 6.
The whole Army does the ſame in Judea, ibid.
The Civil War began he goes to Alexandria, c. 7.
He goes incognito *to the Temple of* Serapis, ibid.
He cures the blind and the lame, ibid.
His Conſulſhip and Cenſorſhip, c. 8.
His care of the City, ibid.
His Structures, c. 9.
He regulates the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, c. 10.
His reſtraint of Debauchery, c. 11.
He boaſts the former meanneſs of his Condition, c. 12.
Refuſes the Tribunitial Authority, ibid.
He allows his Friends the Freedom of Diſcourſe, c. 13.
Never reſented old Injuries, c. 14.
He never puniſh'd wittingly any Innocent Perſon, c. 15.
His Covetouſneſs, c. 16.
His bounty and Liberality, c. 17.
A great Encourager of Arts and Ingenuity, c. 18.
He revives the ancient Dramatick Rehearſals and Songs, c. 19.
His Feaſts and Banquets, ibid.
His Stature and Conſtitution of Health, c. 20.
His method of living, c. 21.
His familiarity and Facetiouſneſs, c. 22.
His Application of the Greek Verſes, c. 23.
His loquacity in Diſcourſe, ibid.
His Ripartees, and Jokes, ibid.
His death, c. 24.
His Confidence of his own and the Nativity of his Children, ibid.

The

The Contents.

The eleventh BOOK.

T. Fl. Veſpaſian.

Titus the Darling and delight of Mankind, Chap. 1.
His Birth and Education, c. 2.
The extraordinary Accompliſhments of his Body and Mind, c. 3.
His Firſt Services in War, c. 4.
He Commands a Legion in Judæa, ibid.
Sent to congratulate Galba, c. 5.
He is left to perfect the Conqueſt of Judæa *and takes* Jeruſalem, ibid.
Suſpected of intending to revolt from his Father, ibid.
He acts as a ſharer in the Empire, c. 6.
He ſhews himſelf Cruel, ibid.
Obnoxious for his Luxury and Luſt, c. 7.
Naturally a Perſon of great goodneſs, c. 8.
He takes upon him the Dignity of Chief Pontif, c. 9.
His kindneſs to his Brother, ibid.
He is taken ſick, ibid.
His death, c. 10.

The twelfth BOOK.

Titus Flavius Domitianus.

The Birth of Domitian, Chap. 1.
His Youth and Adoleſceney. ibid.
His Expeditions, c. 2.

His

The Contents.

His Cuſtom of keeping himſelf private,	Chap. 3.
His Spectacles and Shews,	c. 4.
A Dwarf ſtood alway at his Feet,	ibid.
His Structures and Reparations,	c. 5.
His Warlike Expeditions,	c. 6.
His alterations of the Common Cuſtoms,	c. 7.
His diligence in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice,	c. 8.
At the beginning of his Reign Mild and Gentle	c. 9.
Afterwards moſt Cruel and Inhuman,	c. 10.
His cunning and ſurprize in his Cruelty,	c. 11.
His ways to get Money,	c. 12.
From his Youth uncivil and diſobliging, confident and preſumptuous,	c. 13.
Conſpiracies againſt him,	c. 14.
His Fears and Jealouſies,	ibid.
He puts to death F. Clemens *his Couſen-german,*	c. 15.
The Prodigies portending his fall,	ibid.
He is variouſly terrifi'd and diſtracted,	c. 16.
The manner of the Conſpiracy and his death,	c. 17.
His Stature and Lineaments,	c. 18.
He was impatient of Labour,	c. 19.
He neglected all manner of Liberal Studies,	c. 20.
His courſe of living,	c. 21.
His great addiction to Venery,	c. 22.
The Soldiers lament his death,	c. 23.
Domitian's *Dream,*	c. 24.

THE

C: JULIUS CÆSAR the First
Roman: Emperour

W. Dolle F

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

Done into *English* by G. T. of *Queen's* Coll. *Oxon.*

JULIUS CÆSAR was in the fifteenth year of his Age at his Fathers Death, and the year following, being High Priest of *Jupiter Elett*, he divorc'd *Cossutia*, a Lady, not only of an *Equestrian* Family, but a very great Fortune, to whom he had been contracted during his Minority, and Married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Cinna*, who had born the Consulate four several times. Of her, he begat his Daughter *Julia*; nor could all the Arguments of *Sylla* the Dictator, prevail upon him to part with her. Whereupon, being suspended his Sacerdotal Dignity, and having both his Wive's Portion, and his own Paternal Estate sequester'd, he was suspected to incline to the *Country Party*; insomuch that he was forc'd to abscond, and, though sick of a Quartan Ague, was glad to shift his Quarters almost every Night, and to

bribe the Messengers who were sent to apprehend him: till at last, through the intercession of the Vestal Virgins, and of *Mamercus Æmilius*, and *Aurelius Cotta*, his Kinsmen, he got his Pardon. It's reported for a certain, that, when *Sylla* had for some time obstinately refus'd to hearken to the Mediation of several of his intimate Friends, Persons of great Worth and Honour, and was at last forc'd to yield to their repeated Importunities, he cry'd out (whether by a kind of Prophetick Spirit, or meer Conjecture, who knows?) *Well then, take him amongst you; but withal, let me tell you, That this Man, whom you would so gladly rescue from the Hands of Justice, will one day ruine the Interest of the States Party, which we have hitherto jointly defended; for there are a great many* Marii *in one* Cæsar.

2. He made his first Campagne in *Asia*, in quality of a *Reformade*, under the Command of *M. Thermus* the Prætor; by whom he was dispatch'd into *Bithynia*, to expedite the Sail of the Fleet, where his stay with *Nicomedes* occasion'd the Report of his being that King's Prostitute; which was shortly after confirm'd by his sudden return thither, upon the slender Pretence of getting up a Debt, due to a Libertine, his Client. But the success of his other Adventures wiped off that Aspersion, and he behav'd himself with so much Gallantry at the taking of *Mitylene*, that *Thermus* did him the Honour to present him with a Civic Crown.

3. He bore Arms likewise in *Cilicia*, under *Servilius Isauricus*, but not long: For being flush'd with the News of *Sylla*'s Death, and the Hopes of bettering his Fortune, by the Dissention *Lepidus* had rais'd, he repaired immediately to *Rome*.

Yet

Yet diſtrufting *Lepidus* his Parts, and diſſatisfied with the Opportunity, which came not up to the greatneſs of his Expectations, he rejected all Overtures of joining with him. Beſides, after the Civil Heats were over, he impeached *Cornelius Dolabella*, a Perſon who had formerly triumph'd, and been Conſul, of Bribery and Extortion, during the diſcharge of his Office. Who being acquitted, he thought fit to retire to *Rhodes*, as well to decline the Odium of an Evidence, as to ſtudy at his leiſure under that celebrated Maſter of Eloquence, *Apollonius*, the Son of *Molon*. In his Voyage thither, which hapned in the Winter-ſeaſon, he fell into the Hands of certain Pyrats, who cruis'd upon the Coaſts of the Iſle *Pharmacuſa*, with whom he remain'd Priſoner near forty days, in the greateſt huff and indignation imaginable, attended only with one Phyſician, and two *Valets de Chambre*; for he had immediately diſmiſs'd his Fellow-travellers, and the reſt of his Retinue, to raiſe Money for his Ranſom: Fifty Talents were no ſooner paid, and he ſet on Shore, than he put to Sea again in purſuit of the *Privateers*, whom he took and executed, as he had often threatned them in raillery, whilſt he was yet their Priſoner. *Mithridates* in the mean time laying waſte the adjacent Countries, that he might not ſeem to ſit idle and unconcern'd in that exigence of *Roman* Allies, he ſteer'd his Courſe from *Rhodes*, whither he was bound, for *Aſia*, where raiſing Forces, he drove his Deputy-Lieutenant out of the Province, and confirm'd ſeveral Cities in their Obedience, which were ready to revolt.

4. When the People had made him Military Tribune, (the firſt Honour they conferr'd on

him, after his return to *Rome*) he ſtrenuouſly abetted that Party that was for reſtoring the ancient Authority of the Tribunes, which *Sylla* had mightily intrench'd upon. He likewiſe gain'd the Point of recalling *Lucius Cinna*, his Wives Brother, and ſeveral others of *Lepidus* his Adherents, who, after his Death, had fled with him to *Sertorius*, by a Bill which *Plotius* brought in, whom he himſelf ſeconded with an Harangue to the People.

5. In his Queſtorſhip, he made his Aunt *Julia*'s and his late Wife *Cornelia*'s Funeral Orations, as the Cuſtom was; and in the Panegyrick upon his Aunt, gave this Account of Hers and her Fathers Extraction by both Sides: *My Aunt* Julia, *by the Mothers Side, came of Royal Blood, and by the Father's was related to the Gods themſelves; for her Mother was of the Houſe of the* Marcii, *deſcended from* Ancus Marcius, *King of* Rome; *and her Father was of that of the* Julii, *who ſprang from* Venus, *and of which we are a Branch. So that Kings, whoſe Perſons are Sacred, and they the greateſt of Men; and the Gods, whom we worſhip, and in whoſe Hands are Kings themſelves, both concur to render our Family Great and Illuſtrious.* After the Deceaſe of *Cornelia*, he married *Pompeia*, *Q. Pompeia*'s Daughter, and *L. Sylla*'s Granddaughter; whom he afterwards divorc'd, upon ſuſpicion that *P. Clodius* had debauch'd her. For 'twas ſo confidently reported, he had acceſs to her in Womens Habit, during the time of Publick Worſhip, that the Senate order'd him to be indicted for profaning it.

6. Being named one of the Provincial *Queſtors*, or Treaſurers, his Lot fell upon the farther *Spain*; where going his Circuit, in order to the ad-

administration of Justice, according to the *Prætors* Commission, he came to *Cadez*, and there seeing the Statue of *Alexander* the Great in the Temple of *Hercules*, he fetch'd a deep sigh, and as if sick at the thoughts of his former sluggish and unactive days, that he had done nothing memorable at those years, in which *Alexander* had made himself Master of the Universe, he immediately petition'd for his *Quietus*, to wait the opportunity of showing himself in the City. Besides this, having dreamt the night before, *that he had ravish'd his Mother*, and being told 'twas a Presage he would one day arrive at an universal Monarchy; *for that the Mother he dreamt of debauching, could be nothing but the Earth, the common Parent of all*, he began to think mighty things of himself.

7. Quitting therefore his Office, before his Commission was expired, he repair'd to the *Latin* Colonies, who were at that time petitioning for their Freedom, and had certainly put them upon some desperate Attempt, if the Consuls had not aw'd him with keeping the Legions up in Arms a while about the City, which were designed for *Cilicia*. But for all this Disappointment, he continued still to pursue yet greater Projects against the Government.

8. For a little before he entred upon his *Ædileship*, he was suspected to have been in a Confederacy with *M. Crassus* (a Consular Man) *P. Sylla*, and *L. Autronius*, who, after they had been elected Consuls, were convict of corrupt canvasing for Voices. The Design, it seems, was to have set upon the Senate about New-years Day; at what time, having assassinated such Members as they thought fittest to be taken out

of the way, *Craſſus* was to uſurp the Dictatorſhip, and to appoint *Cæſar* Deputy in his Abſence; and the Common-wealth being new model'd, after a Platform of their own, *Sylla* and *Antronius* were to be reſtored to their Dignity. *Tanuſius Geminus* makes mention of this Conſpiracy in his Hiſtory; *M. Bibulus* in his Edicts; and *C. Curio* the Elder, in his Orations; and *Cicero* ſeems to hint at it in an Epiſtle to *Axius*, in theſe words; *Cæſar confirm'd himſelf in that Government during his Conſulſhip, which he had thoughts of whilſt he was yet Ædile*, or Surveyor of the Buildings. *Tanuſius* adds farther, that *Craſſus*, either through fear, or remorſe of Conſcience, abſenting himſelf the day on which the Murther was to have been Executed, *Cæſar* gave not the Signal agreed upon, which, as *Curio* relates, was the throwing his Gown off his ſhoulders. The ſame Author, and *M. Actorius Naſo* report, he was in another Conſpiracy with *Cneus Piſo*, a young Gentleman, who was preferr'd out of courſe, to the Government of *Spain*, to baulk his Deſigns at home. *Cæſar* was to carry on the Inſurrection in the City, and *Piſo* in the Country, by making a Party amongſt the Inhabitants of the other ſide of *Poe*, and others upon the River *Lambrus*. But *Piſo* dying, the Project expir'd with him.

9. In his *Ædileſhip*, he beautified not only the *Guild-Hall*, the *Hall of Elections*, and *Courts of Judicature*, but the *Capitol*, with Galleries, built there, only upon occaſion of ſome preſent publick Solemnities, to expoſe part of the Preparations in, when too large for the uſual places of reception. He entertain'd the People likewiſe with baiting of Wild Beaſts, and Plays, both in conjunction

junction with his Colleague, and without him; whereby he engroſs'd all the credit of their common expences; inſomuch, that his Brother *Bibulus* could not but obſerve that he had much the ſame hard fate with poor *Pollux*; for as the Temple erected in honour of him as well as of *Caſtor*, bore only the name of the latter, ſo his Partner *Cæſar* carried away all the Glory of their joint Munificence. Beſides all theſe Diverſions, he gratified them with the Combats of ſeveral *Gladiators*, though not in ſuch numbers as he at firſt intended; for the vaſt multitudes of them which he had got together from all Parts, having a little alarm'd his Enemies, they procured a publick Edict, to determine the number, which no Perſon in Town ſhould dare to exceed.

10. Having thus won upon the Affections of the Rabble, he endeavoured next, by the intereſt of ſome of the Tribunes, to prevail upon the Commons, to ſend Forces under him into *Ægypt*, to quell the Rebellion there, expecting at that juncture, to have got a Command in his hand, that was out of courſe; the *Alexandrians* having driven out their King, whom at that time the Senate had honour'd with the Title of their Friend and Ally; an Inſolence that was generally ill reſented. But the States Party preſently quaſh'd the Deſign; and therefore, to give as great a blow at their Authority as he could in return, he repair'd the Trophies, erected in memory of *C. Marius* his Victories over *Jugurtha*, the *Cimbrians*, and the *Teutons*, which *Sylla* had demoliſh'd. Being likewiſe in Commiſſion to ſit upon Life and Death, in all Indictments of Murther, he ordered them to be equally

equally prosecuted with the rest, who had receiv'd Moneys out of the Exchequer, for assassinating such Citizens as *Sylla* had proscribed, though his Laws had particularly excepted them.

11. He likewise suborn'd Evidence to swear Treason against *C. Rabirius*; by whose especial assistance, the Senate had not many years before repress'd the seditious practices of *L. Saturninus* the Tribune; and being appointed to try him, he was so eager upon his Condemnation, that nothing inclin'd the People more to commiseration in his Appeal to them, than the Inveteracy of his Judge.

12. Having now laid aside all hopes of Command in *Ægypt*, the next Office he appear'd for, was that of *High Priest*, for which, he treated and bribed at so extravagant a rate, that considering with himself, how much it had run him in debt, he is reported to have assur'd his Mother, as he took his leave of her, that morning he went to the Election, that he would never return again if he miss it; and indeed, he so far out-voted his two Competitors, men of great interest, and who had the advantage of Age and Honour on their side, that he had more Voices even in their Wards, than both of them had in all.

13. The Conspiracy of *Catiline* being discover'd whilst he was *Prætor*, or *Lord Chief Justice*, and the whole Senate unanimously resolving to put him and his Accomplices to death, he was the only man who voted for their Imprisonment only, in several Market-Town Goals, and Confiscation of Goods; nay, and so far terrified those who were for the rigour of the Law, by

repeated

repeated representations of the publick Odium they would draw upon themselves for the future, that *Decimus Silanus*, Consul Elect, because he could not with honour flatly retract his Opinion, thought fit however to explain himself in softer terms, pretending to have been misunderstood in what he had delivered. And he had certainly gain'd his point, having now made a considerable Party in the Senate; amongst the rest, the Consul *Cicero*'s Brother, had not *M. Cato*'s Speech recollected the wavering Members, and encourag'd them to stand by their former Votes. But for all this, he still obstinately pursued his Argument, till the Guards, who attended the House, threatned his Death, coming in, and beanding him with their naked Swords, pointed so near his Breast, that they who sate next him, were forced to quit their Seats, and a few Friends saved him at last with much ado, by interposing betwixt the Souldiers and him; which Attempt upon his Person, not only skared him into a Compliance, but made him absent from the House the remainder of that year.

14. The first day he enter'd upon his Prætorship, he convened *Q. Catulus* before the People, about the Reparation of the Capitol, having first published a Bill to be pass'd for transferring that Charge upon another. But finding himself unable to grapple with the joint interest of the Grandees of the State, who waving the usual Complement of an Honorary Attendance upon the new Consuls, flock'd in great numbers into the Court, with vigorous Resolutions of opposing him: He let this Cause fall to the ground likewise. *Pompey.*

15. More-

15. Moreover, *Cæcilius Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the People, propounding ſeveral ſeditious Bills to be paſs'd into Laws, notwithſtanding the Proteſtations of his Colleagues to the contrary, he abetted him with ſo much zeal and ſtiffneſs, that they were both remov'd from their Employs by Order of the Senate, in open contempt whereof, he continued ſtill in the Execution of his Office, till ſeeing he ſhould be obliged to deſiſt by force of Arms, he retired at laſt privately home; where, diſmiſſing the Lictors, and laying aſide his Robes, he reſolved to acquieſce as the Times ſtood. About two days after, he appeaſed the Rabble, who, reſorting to him in numerous Crowds, of their own accord, proffer'd, in a tumultuous manner, to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, if he pleas'd to aſſert his Authority; an Act ſo ſurprizing to the Senate (aſſembled in great haſte upon that Riot) that they order'd him the Thanks of the Houſe by ſome of the principal Members; and having call'd him into the Court, and highly extoll'd him for the Service he had done, repeal'd the former Decree, and reſtor'd him to his Place.

16. He run again another Risk, from an Information given in againſt him to *Novius Niger* the *Quæſtor*, by *L. Vettius*, and another exhibited to the Senate, by *Q. Curius*, who both accus'd him of being an Accomplice in *Cataline*'s Conſpiracy. *Curius* (who being the firſt Diſcoverer, was order'd a publick Reward) ſwore, he had it from *Cataline*'s own mouth, and *Vettius* promiſed them to produce his own Hand for't, to the ſame *Cataline*. *Cæſar* highly reſenting this, deſired the Conſul *Cicero* would declare, if he

he had not formerly made ſome voluntary Diſcovery of the Plot to him; by which means, he baulk'd *Curius* of the Recompence decreed him; and as for *Vettius*, after he had been forc'd to give Bail, had his Goods diſtrain'd, and was almoſt torn in pieces in the Popular Aſſembly, he threw him into Priſon, and *Novius* the *Quæſtor* with him, for preſuming to call a Superiour Magiſtrate before him.

17. Now that his Prætorſhip was expir'd, and having the Government of the farther *Spain* allotted him, he was forc'd to ſatisfie his Creditors with good Security for their Moneys, and immediately after, againſt all Law and Preſident, ſet forward on his Journey, without any Orders or Inſtructions from the Senate; either out of the apprehenſions of ſome Action to be brought againſt him, now that he was out of his Office, or that he might the ſooner expedite that Relief which the poor Inhabitants, *Roman* Allies, had inſtantly requeſted. Having ſetled Affairs in the Province, he never ſtaid the Arrival of his Succeſſor, but repair'd with equal diſpatch towards *Rome*, in order to his Triumph and Conſulſhip. Orders being iſſued out for the Election, he could not poſſibly be admitted to ſtand, unleſs he entred the City as a private Perſon; a Point wherein he earneſtly preſs'd he might be diſpens'd with; but meeting with numerous Oppoſers, he was forc'd to wave his intended Triumph, leaſt he ſhould loſe the Conſulſhip.

18. *L. Lucius* and *M. Bibulus* being his two Competitors for the Place, he ſided with the former, upon theſe Terms, That he having the longer Purſe, and himſelf the greater Intereſt, he

he ſhould defray all the Charges of the Election in both their Names. The Grandees underſtanding this, and imagining he would ſtick at nothing, when once arriv'd at the top of the Government, eſpecially in conjunction with a tame and complying Colleague, put *Bibulus* upon the ſame Offers, to which ſeveral contributed, *Cato* himſelf being of opinion, that Largeſſes at that juncture were for the Intereſt of the Commonwealth; ſo that *Cæſar* and *Bibulus* were created *Conſuls*. Out of the ſame Deſign of curtailing his Authority, the Nobility made it their Buſineſs to put them upon mean and inconſiderable Employs, as the Care of Woods and High-ways; ſo egregious an Affront, that it put him upon courting *Pompey*'s Friendſhip by all the good Offices imaginable, whom he knew to have been diſguſted at the Senate, for having delay'd the Ratification of what he had decreed his Soldiers, after his Victory over *Mithridates*: He likewiſe reconciled *Craſſus* and him, who had been at odds ever ſince their Conſulſhip, which they had jointly manag'd with great Heats and Animoſities, and enter'd into League with them both, that nothing of Publick Concern ſhould be tranſacted, without the unanimous Conſent and Approbation of all Three.

19. After his Advancement to the Conſulate, he was the firſt that order'd a Journal of the Tranſactions of both Senate and People to be taken and publiſh'd. He reviv'd likewiſe an antiquated Cuſtom, that in thoſe Months the Bundle of Rods and Axes were not in waiting upon him, an *Accenſus*, a ſort of Bayliff-errant, or Cryer, ſhould go before him, and the *Lictors* or Serjeants follow after. The *Agrarian* Law being

being promulg'd, and his Colleague proteſting againſt it, he drave him out of the *Guild-hall* by force of Arms; which he complaining of the next day to the Senate, and no Man daring to propoſe ſo notorious a Riot to be debated in the Houſe, nor move for Satisfaction to be made him, as had been the conſtant Practice upon ſmaller occaſions, he laid it ſo deeply to heart, that he ſculk'd at home ever after, never oppoſing him but by his Edicts, during the whole courſe of his Conſulſhip. From this time he had the Government wholly in his own hands, which gave occaſion to ſome Wits of the Town, when they witneſs'd any Deed or Writing, to date it in Raillery, not *when Cæſar and Bibulus*, but when *Julius and Cæſar were Conſuls*, putting the Name and Sirname of the one for them both; and a little after this libellous Diſtich was diſpers'd,

Bibulus! who's he? He ne'er was Conſul here,
For Cæſar acted ſolely all the Year.

20. He divided the Common of the *Stellates*, which the old *Romans* had devoted to Religious Uſes, and the Territories of *Campania*, left as a Subſidy to the Publick Stock amongſt Twenty thouſand Citizens, who ſhould have Three or more Children apiece, without the uſual way of Diviſion by Lots. He ſtruck off the Farmers of the Publick Revenues, petitioning for an Abatement, a third part of their Rent; openly adviſing them withal, not to out-bid one another ſo extravagantly for the future. He beſtow'd all other Boons and Gratuities as he thought fit, *nemine contradicente*; or if any one endeavour'd

endeavour'd to oppoſe him, he was preſently terrified into a Compliance. He commanded a Serjeant to take *Cato* by force out of the Court, and commit him for endeavouring to ſtop his Proceedings. He threatned to lay ſuch things to *Lucullus* his Charge, who had argued briskly againſt him, that for fear of the worſt, he was glad to caſt himſelf at his Feet and beg his Pardon: And *Cicero*, having but in one of his Pleadings lamented the badneſs of the Times, the ſame day at three a clock he tranſlated *P. Clodius*, his Enemy, from a Patrician to a Plebeian Family, which himſelf had long ago unſucceſsfully attempted: And to give one compendious Blow to the contrary Faction, he ſuborn'd *Vettius* to ſwear, That ſome of them had ſolicited him to murder *Pompey*, and to accuſe them in the Popular Aſſembly: But one or two of the pretended Criminals being diſcharged, and the Project looking like a Sham, he deſpair'd of Succeſs; and, to prevent blabbing, 'tis thought, poyſoned his Evidence out of the way.

21. About the ſame time he married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *L. Piſo*, who was to ſucceed him in the Conſulſhip, and beſtow'd his Daughter *Julia* upon *Pompey*, having divorc'd her from her former Husband *Servilius Cæpio*, one who had ſtuck the faſteſt to him of all Men living, in his late Diſpute with *Bibulus*. After this new Alliance with *Pompey*, he did him the honour of asking his Vote firſt in the Senate, which he had done to *Craſſus* before: It being the Cuſtom to obſerve the ſame Order in taking the Votes all the Year round, with which the *Conſul* began at the Opening of the Seſſions on New-years day.

22. Now

22. Now by the Intereſt of his new Father, and Son-in-Law, he made his own choice of a Province, which was *Gaul*, looking upon it as a Place whoſe Advantages would afford him the faireſt Opportunities of, and Matter for Triumph. At firſt indeed his Commiſſion ran only for *Ciſalpine Gaul*, with the additional acceſs of *Illyricum*, which was confirm'd to him by the *Vatinian* Law: But the Senate ſuperadded *Tranſalpine Gaul*, to get the ſtart of the People, who, they imagin'd, would confer it upon him if they deny'd it; which ſo exalted him, that he could not forbear ſwaggering a few days after in a full houſe, telling them, He had now compaſſed his Ends, in ſpite of his diſconſolate Adverſaries, and would certainly run them down for the future; to which one of them giving this biting Anſwer, * *That it would be an hard task for a Woman*: *Ay but* (replied he, without any ſeeming reſentment at the Reflexion) *I have heard of one* Semiramis *Queen of* Aſſyria, *and they ſay the* Amazons, *formerly made themſelves Miſtreſſes of a conſiderable part of* Aſia [the leſs.]

* *Alluding to the Report of his being* Nicomedes *his Proſtitute.*

23. After he was out of his Conſulſhip, *C. Memmius* and *Lucius Domitius*, who at that time were Prætors, reporting the (*illegal Conſular*) Acts which had paſs'd the Year before, he ſubmitted to the Cognizance of the Senate: But they being ſhie of moving in the Buſineſs, and having ſpent three days in Debates which came to no iſſue, he went for *Gaul*, when immediately after, one who had been his Queſtor in the Conſulate, was found guilty of certain Delinquencies, which might ſerve as a Precedent for

his Condemnation. A little after this, he was impeach'd by *L. Antiſtius Memmius*, Tribune of the People; but, by an Appeal to the reſt of the Fraternity, gain'd this Point, That he ſhould not be brought to Tryal whilſt abroad upon the Publick Service. Therefore, the better to ſecure himſelf for the future, he made it his buſineſs to ingratiate and keep in with the Annual Magiſtrates, and to engage his Intereſt only for thoſe Competitors who would promiſe to ſtand by him in his abſence; wherein he was ſo infinitely ſcrupulous, that of ſome of them he required the Solemnity of an Oath, and Hand and Seal too, for his Security.

24. *L. Domitius*, who appear'd next for the Conſulſhip, having openly threatned, That though *Cæſar* had * baffled him whilſt he was but Prætor, yet he would be even with him when Conſul, and turn him out of his Command of the Army. He prevail'd with *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, whom he had invited to *Luca*, a City within the Territories of his Province, to ſtand again for the Conſulſhip, to put *Domitius* by, and to move for the renewal of his Commiſſion Five years longer, and ſucceeded in both. Upon the ſtrength whereof, he took the confidence to encreaſe the Forces with which the State had intruſted him, with ſeveral Legions rais'd at his own Charges; amongſt which was one made up of *Tranſalpine Gauls*, and call'd by a *Gauliſh* name, *Alauda*, (or the *Creſted Legion*) whom, having firſt train'd up in, and civiliz'd with the Military Diſcipline, and other Cuſtoms and Uſages of the *Romans*, he made free of the City. From this time he never baulk'd any

* *In the Report he made of the Acts which* Cæſar *paſſed in his Conſulſhip.*

any Occaſion of making War upon Confederates, as well as Enemies or Barbarians, without the leaſt regard to the Juſtice of, or the Danger that might attend the Action: Inſomuch that the Senate had once reſolv'd to depute Commiſſioners into *Gaul*, to inquire into the State of Affairs there; and ſome of them voted down-right, that he might be deliver'd up into the Enemies Hands. But Succeſs waited ſo conſtantly upon all his Enterprizes, that he had oftner, and more days together, ſet apart for Solemn Thankſgiving, than ever any one before him.

25. The great Exploits he perform'd during his Nine years Command in *Gaul*, are theſe. He reduc'd all that Tract of Ground which lies betwixt the *Pyrenæan* Hills, the *Alps*, the Mountain *Gebenna*, the *Rhine*, and the *Rhoſne*, Three thouſand and two hundred Miles in circumference, beſides ſuch Towns as were Confederate, and had deſerv'd well of him, into the form of a Province; upon which he laid an Annual Tribute of 40000000 * *Seſterces*. He was the firſt *Roman* that, building a Bridge over the *Rhine*, ever attack'd the *Germans* beyond the River, of whom he ſlaughter'd moſt prodigious numbers. He invaded the *Britains* alſo, unheard of in former Ages, whom having ſubdu'd, he laid Contributions upon, and forc'd to give Hoſtages for ſecurity of their Allegiance. He met but with three Checks in this whole Career of his Victories: Firſt, The loſs of almoſt his whole Fleet upon the Coaſts of *Britain*: Secondly, The overthrow of a whole

* *Taking a* Roman Seſterce *for* 2 d. *which it amounts to within half a Farthing, the Reader may eaſily at his leiſure reduce this, and all following Sums, to the* Engliſh *Standard.*

Legion before *Gergovia* in *Gaul*: And laſtly, The inſidious Defeat of his two Lieutenants, *Titurius* and *Aurunculeius*, upon the Frontiers of *Germany*.

26. Whilſt he acted thus abroad, he loſt his Mother, his Daughter *Julia*, and his Grand-daughter at home. Amidſt which Misfortunes, the Murder committed upon the Perſon of *P. Clodius* ſcared the Commonwealth into thoſe frightful Apprehenſions, that the Senate reſolving to elect but one ſingle Conſul, and pitching upon *Pompey* for the Man, he prevail'd with the Tribunes, who had deſign'd him for his Colleague, to put the People upon paſſing an *Act* to enable him to ſtand the ſecond time for the Conſulate in his abſence, whenſoever his Commiſſion for the Government of *Gaul* ſhould be near expir'd; leſt he ſhould be oblig'd to lay down his Arms upon that occaſion, before he had compleated his Conqueſts. And now propoſing vaſter Projects to himſelf, and with fairer hopes of Succeſs than ever, upon carrying this great Point, he was never wanting to any Man in acts of Bounty and Beneficence, both publick and private, to gain a Creature. He began the Structure of a *Forum* (a ſort of Square or *Piazza*) with Moneys rais'd out of the Spoils of his Enemies, whoſe very *Area*, or Ground-plot, ſtood him in above an hundred millions of *Seſterces*. He promis'd the People an Entertainment, and a Sword-play, in memory of his deceas'd Daughter; an Honour never done a Woman before: And highly to enhance their Expectations of both, he not only employ'd the Publick Cooks and Victuallers in the Town, but private Houſes, to make ſuitable Preparations for the former: And if at any time the Spectators

ſtators ſignified their diſpleaſure at an eminent Gladiator, whereby his Life was in danger, he commanded him to be took away by force, and reſerv'd for an Ornament to the latter. He would not ſuffer the young Men, who were to be trained up in thoſe Exerciſes, to be taught either in the publick Schools, or by profeſs'd Maſters of Defence, but in Private Houſes, by *Roman* Knights, and ſuch Senators themſelves, as were skilful at their Weapon, begging them (as is ſtill evident from his Letters) to diſcipline and inſtruct them themſelves. He order'd his Legions double pay for ever, and as oft as Corn was plenty, diſtributed it amongſt them without ſtinting them to their uſual allowance, and now and then gave ſome particular men Slaves, and whole Farms.

27. To retain his former Friendſhip and Alliance with *Pompey*, he made an Overture to him of his Siſters Grand-daughter, *Octavia*, married to *C. Marcellus*, on condition he would beſtow his Daughter upon him, who was promiſed to *Fauſtus Sylla*. In order whereunto, he gratified all *Pompey*'s Friends and Acquaintance, as likewiſe a conſiderable number of Senators, with the loan of Moneys upon little or no intereſt; and nobly preſented all others, whether Gentlemen or *Plebeians*, who came to wait upon him, either upon his invitation or their own accord, not over-looking their very Freemen and Slaves, according as they ſtood in the opinion of their reſpective Lords and Patrons: No Criminal, Priſoner for Debt, or young Bankrupt Debauchee of the Town, could ſooner apply themſelves to him, than he reliev'd them; unleſs perhaps the greatneſs of their Crimes, Debts,

or Debaucheries, non-plus'd the utmoſt extent of his aſſiſtance: *For ſuch deſperado's*, he us'd to ſay, *muſt make their Fortunes by a Civil War, or nothing.*

28. Nor did he with leſs induſtry and application, ingratiate himſelf with Foreign Princes and Provinces; preſenting ſome with a thouſand Captives, and ſending others Auxiliary Forces, whither, and as often as they pleas'd, without leave of either Senate or People: Beſides the ſtately Fabricks wherewith he beautified the Capital Cities of *Italy*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*; till at laſt all people being ſtrangely amazed, and conſidering with themſelves what might be the drift and deſign of theſe proceedings, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, the Conſul, having in the Preface to his Edict deſired to conſult with the Senate, about a concernment of the higheſt importance to the Senate, propoſed the nomination of a Succeſſor to *Cæſar*, before his Commiſſion expired; for that the War being ended, and a Peace ratified, the conquering Army ought to be disbanded; and farther moved, that he might not be admitted as Candidate at the Election of Conſuls in his abſence; ſince *Pompey*'s Law, which had made no particular proviſion for him in that caſe, was not afterwards corrected by decree of the People, but by his own, *inſignificant*, Authority: For it ſo happened, that making a Law concerning the regulation of Magiſtrates, he forgot to except *Cæſar* out of that Article, which excluded all in general that were abſent from appearing for thoſe honourable Offices, which he afterwards took out and amended, when it had been formerly paſs'd, ingraven in a Copper Plate, and depoſited

ſited in the Treaſury. Nor was *Marcellus* contented thus to ſtrip him of his Government, and the late * exemption the People had granted him, but mov'd that thoſe Colonies, or Planters, he had ſent to *Novum Comum*, by virtue of the *Vatinian* Law, might loſe their Enfranchiſement, as being granted them merely through his ambition, and in greater numbers than the Act allow'd of.

* *From the Law which excluded all abſent Perſons from ſtanding for the Conſulſhip.*

29. *Cæſar* nettled at this, and conſidering (as 'tis reported he has been often heard to ſay.) *That if he were once degraded from the firſt of the three Eſtates to the ſecond, he might much more eaſily be debaſed from that to the meaneſt of all*; uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſtem the Tide, partly by the proteſtations of the Tribunes againſt the proceedings, and partly by the intereſt of *Servius Sulpitius*, the other Conſul. The year after, C. *Marcellus*, who ſucceeded his Couſin *Marcus* in the Conſulſhip, driving on the ſame deſigns againſt him, he won *Paulus Æmilius*, his Colleague, and *Caius Curio*, the hotteſt of all the Tribunes, with immenſe gratuities, over to his party. But perceiving that the ſtream of the Houſe notwithſtanding ran violently againſt him, and that beſides the Conſuls Elect were of the oppoſite Party, he humbly requeſted the Senate by Letter, either to confirm the Peoples * grant to him, or to oblige the other Generals to quit their Commands as well as himſelf; not doubting, as 'tis thought, but he could eaſilier, at his pleaſure, rally up his veterane Troops, than *Pompey* his new; and would gladly have come to this Accommodation with his Adverſaries, that disbanding eight of his Legions, and

* *Of capacitating him to ſtand for the Conſulſhip in his abſence.*

leaving the Government of *Tranſalpine Gaul*, he ſhould be permitted to keep up two, with the Province of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, or at leaſt one Legion with *Illyricum*, till ſuch time as he ſhould be created Conſul.

30. But the Senate not intermedling, and his Enemies refuſing to accept of terms from a particular Subject in a publick concern, he paſs'd into the nether *Gaul*, where having finiſh'd his judicial circuit, he took up his Quarters at *Ravenna*, with this reſolution, that if the Senate ſhould be ſevere upon the Tribunes, who eſpous'd his quarrel, he would revenge theirs by force of Arms: And this is the grand reaſon, he pretended, for that Civil War which enſued, though 'tis thought there were others at the bottom. *Pompey* was of opinion, that not finding himſelf in a capacity to finiſh thoſe vaſt piles of Building he had already begun, nor able, with his own Purſe, to anſwer thoſe vaſt expectations he had raiſed in the People, of the great things he would do at his return, he reſolved to involve all in one common confuſion. Others ſay, he was afraid of being call'd to an account, for what he had acted in his firſt Conſulſhip againſt all Law, Religion, and Remonſtrances to the contrary: *M. Cato* having frequently proteſted and ſworn, he would immediately impeach him upon his laying down the Command of the Army; and beſides, it was the talk of the Town, that if he returned without the character of General, he would be Tryed, like *Milo*, with a Guard about him: Which opinion I rather incline to, from that paſſage of *Aſinius Pollio*, who reports that *Cæſar*, obſerving the great ſlaughter and defeat of the Enemy at the Battel

of

of *Pharſalia*, let fall this Expreſſion: *Well, they may thank themſelves for this*: C. Cæſar *had been condemn'd, forſooth, after all his great Atchievements, had he not begg'd the Aſſiſtance of his Army.* Some indeed think, that being long uſed to command, and finding the Odds on his own ſide upon a Computation of his own and the Enemies Forces, he took that occaſion of rifling the Government out of their hands, which he had had an eye upon even from his greener Years: Which ſeems alſo to have been *Cicero*'s Opinion, who reports in the Third Book of his *Offices*, That *Cæſar* would be often repeating a Diſtich in *Euripides*, which the Orator tranſlates thus:

Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum eſt; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

At ſmaller Games you may a Conſcience make,
But 'tis all Nonſenſe when a Crown's the Stake.

Upon notice, therefore, that the Remonſtrances and Arguments of the Tribunes were thrown out of the Houſe, and they fled the Town, he order'd his Forces to march privately before-hand, whilſt he himſelf, to take away all occaſion of ſuſpicion, went to ſee a publick Shew, for a blind, eat in publick, as he us'd to do, and talk'd of nothing but the Model of a Fencing-School he deſign'd to build there. Then immediately after Sun-ſet, clapping into his Chariot a pair or two of Mules at hand in a neighbouring Bakehouſe, he ſet forward on his Journey, with as much privacy and as ſmall a Retinue as he could; and when, upon the going

ing out of his Torches, he had loſt his way, and wandred all night, at length, about break of day, having got a Guide, and lighting from his Chariot, he travell'd through narrow by-ways on foot, till he recover'd his Troops on the Banks of *Rubicon*, the Boundary of his Province; where making a pauſe, and reflecting upon the greatneſs of the Enterpriſe now before him, he turn'd to thoſe about him with theſe words; *Well, we may retreat yet; but if we once paſs that little Bridge there, we muſt ſtand to our Arms.*

32. Whilſt he ſtood in this ſuſpence and anxiety of thought, all on a ſudden appear'd to him a proper comely Perſon, ſitting hard by, and playing upon a Pipe; to hear whoſe Muſick, when, beſides Shepherds, ſeveral Soldiers, and amongſt the reſt ſome Trumpeters, left their Ranks and flock'd about him, he ſnatch'd a Trumpet out of one of their Hands, and ſprang to the Water-ſide, ſounding a mighty ſhrill Charge quite over the River; at which *Cæſar* cry'd out, *Come, march on then, ſince the Gods and our rigorous Enemies will have it ſo.*

33. And ſo having paſt over his Army, and deſir'd the Tribunes, who had fled thither from *Rome*, to ſtand by him, he made an Oration at the Head of his Troops, imploring their Fidelity with Tears in his Eyes, and his Garments rent about him. There went a Report likewiſe, that he promis'd to give them all Knights Fees; but it hapned through a miſtake: For having frequently ſhewn the Ring-Finger on his Left Hand in his Addreſſes to them, proteſting he would willingly ſtrip himſelf even to that Badge of his Honour, to gratifie any Man who

who ſhould aſſiſt him in aſſerting his Honour; the remote part of the Audience, who could eaſilier ſee his Geſtures than hear his Voice, imagining he had ſpoke what their own Eyes only dictated, preſently gave out they ſhould be each Man rewarded with the Honour of the (Gold) Ring, and 400000 *Seſterces*.

34. Take this ſummary Account of his ſubſequent Exploits in their order. He poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Picenum*, *Umbria*, and *Etruria*; and *L. Domitius*, who in the Heats and Animoſities of the Houſe had been elected his Succeſſor in his Province of *Gaul*, and commanded the Garriſon in *Corſinium*, being forc'd to a Surrendry and diſmiſt, he march'd ſtraight along the *Adriatick Coaſts* to *Brunduſium*, whither the Conſuls and *Pompey* had fled, with deſign to imbarque the firſt opportunity. Here he made vaſt Works to block them up in the Harbor, but ſucceeding not in the Attempt, directed his Courſe for *Rome*, where having adviſ'd with the Senate about the important Affairs of the State, he went for *Spain*, againſt the moſt puiſſant and formidable of all *Pompey*'s Forces, under the Command of three Lieutenants, *M. Petreius*, *L. Afranius*, and *M. Varro*; declaring a little before, in company of ſome of his Friends, that *He was now going to engage an Army without a General, but at his return ſhould have a General indeed, but without an Army to encounter.* And though the Siege of *Marſeilles*, which ſhut her Gates againſt him in his March, together with an extraordinary ſcarcity of Corn, retarded the Progreſs of his Army, yet he conquer'd all before him in a ſhort time.

35. After

35. After this Expedition he return'd to *Rome*, whence he advanc'd towards *Macedonia*, againſt *Pompey* himſelf, where having hemm'd him in, and beſieg'd him with moſt prodigious Works in his own Camp, for near Four months together, he gave him at laſt a total Defeat at the Battel of *Pharſalia*, and purſu'd him into *Alexandria*, where finding him baſely murder'd by *Ptolemy*, and the ſame treacherous Deſigns laid againſt his own Perſon, he fought him, though under the greateſt diſadvantages of Place and Seaſon imaginable: For 'twas now Winter, and he deſtitute of all manner of Neceſſaries, within the Bowels of a well-provided and induſtrious Enemy, whom when he had conquer'd, he beſtow'd the Command of the Kingdom upon *Cleopatra* and her younger Brother, not daring to make it a Province, leſt falling at any time into the Hands of a hot and turbulent Governor, he might be tempted to rebell. From *Alexandria* he paſs'd into *Syria*, and thence into *Pontus*, upon frequent News brought him, that *Pharnaces*, the Son of *Mithridates* the Great, fluſh'd with repeated Succeſs, had taken the opportunity of the *Roman* Civil Wars to fall foul upon them; whom having routed in one ſingle ſet Battel, within Five days after his arrival, and Four hours that he came in ſight of him, he often commemorated the Felicity of *Pompey*, who had got the Reputation of ſo great a Soldier, from the eaſie Conqueſt of ſo impotent an Enemy. After this he overthrew *Scipio* and *Juba*, who were rallying together the Remains of *Pompey*'s ſcatter'd Troops in *Africa*, and *Pompey*'s own Sons in *Spain*.

36. He

36. He never was worſted through the whole courſe of the Civil Wars, but in his Lieutenant-Generals; amongſt whom *C. Curio* was defeated in *Afric*, *C. Antonius* was taken Priſoner in *Illyricum*, *P. Dolabella* loſt his Fleet upon the Coaſts of the ſame, and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* his Army in *Pontus*. Succeſs was ſo conſtant an Attendant upon his own Banners, that he never diſputed it with any hazard but twice; once near *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* having forc'd him to give back, and not following his Blow, he declared he knew not how to make a right uſe of a Victory: Another time, at the laſt Battel he fought in *Spain*, where the Extremities he was driven to, put him once upon the deſperate Reſolution of laying violent hands upon himſelf.

37. When the Wars were at an end, he had the Honour of Five ſeveral Triumphs, Four whereof were ſolemnized after *Scipio*'s Defeat, within the ſpace of a ſingle Month, but at the diſtance of ſome Days; and the laſt after his Conqueſt of *Pompey*'s Sons. The firſt, and moſt magnificent, was that for the Victories he obtain'd over the *Gauls*, the next for that in *Ægypt*, the third for that in *Pontus*, the fourth for that in *Afric*, and the laſt for that in *Spain*, different from each other in their Pageantries and Properties. Riding along a Place in *Rome*, called *Velabrum*, on the day of his *Gallick* Triumph, he had like to have been overturn'd by the breaking of the Axletree of his Chariot. He mounted the Capitol by Torch-light, Forty Elephants carrying Flambeaus on each ſide. Amongſt the Ornaments of his *Pontic* Triumph was this Inſcription, *I came*, *ſaw*, *overcame*; expreſſing

expreſſing, not as was uſual in other Motto's the memorable Exploits done in the War, but the Expedition of the Victory.

38. In lieu of Plunder, he gave all the Infantry of his Veterane Legions (beſides the Two thouſand *Seſterces* at the beginning of the War) * Twenty thouſand, and the Cavalry Forty thouſand apiece. He aſſigned them Tenements too, but not contiguous, leſt any of the Owners ſhould be ejected. He gave the People, beſides Ten Buſhels of Corn, and as many Pints of Oil, Three hundred *Seſterces* a Man, which he had promis'd them long before, and upon that conſideration added an hundred apiece more for Intereſt. He remitted a Years Houſe-rent to thoſe Inhabitants who ſate at Two thouſand *Seſterces per annum* in the City, and the like to thoſe who paid Five hundred in the Country. To all which Acts of Liberality, he ſuperadded a publick Entertainment, and a Diſtribution of raw Fleſh; and upon his Conqueſt in *Spain*, two Dinners: For thinking the firſt too mean, and unworthy a Perſon of his Generoſity, five days after he provided a ſecond, much more ſumptuous and ſplendid than the former.

* *According to the Judicious* Caſaubon's *reading.*

39. He entertain'd the People with great variety of Shews and Divertiſements; ſuch as the fighting of Prizes, Stage-plays acted in different Languages, and in every Quarter of the City; the Sports and Paſtime of the *Circus*; Sea-fights, Wreſtling, Racing, *&c.* *Furius Lepcinus*, who was deſcended of a *Prætorian* Family, and *Q. Calpinus*, formerly Senator, and Pleader at the Bar, fought a Prize in the *Forum*: Young Princes from *Aſia* and *Bithynia* danc'd

danc'd the Antick War-dance. Amongſt the reſt of the Stage-plays, was the ſmutty Farce of *Decimus Laberius*, a *Roman* Knight, which he acted ſo comically, that he beſtowed the Dignity of the * Gold Ring, and 500000 *Seſterces* upon him, ſo that he paſs'd immediately from the Stage, to one of the fourteen Seats or Boxes, reſerv'd for Perſons of that Quality. In order to the better performance of the *Circenſian* Games, he enlarged the *Circus* every way, and ſurrounded it with a ſmall Canal: Here ſeveral of the young Nobility ſhew'd their Addreſs in Vaulting, and driving Chariots with two or four Horſes apiece. The Exerciſe call'd * *Troja* was perform'd by two Troops, the one of elder, and the other of younger Gentlemen. There was baiting of Wild Beaſts five days together; and laſt of all, a kind of Pitch'd Battel betwixt Five hundred Foot, Twenty Elephants, and Three hundred Horſe on a ſide; the Goals being removed to make room for the Combatants, and two oppoſite Camps ſet up in their ſtead. The Wreſtlers, Racers, *&c.* exerciſed for three days together in a Place prepar'd on purpoſe for them in the *Campus Martius*: A Sea-fight was repreſented in a Canal cut in the leſſer * *Codeta*, by ſeveral well-mann'd Gallies of *Tyre* and *Ægypt*, with two, three, and four Pair of Oars apiece: All which Publick Shews drew ſuch a vaſt Conflux of People from all Parts, that conſiderable numbers of Strangers were forc'd to lodge in Tents and Huts in the Streets and High-ways; and ſeveral were beaten down and ſmother'd in

* *The Badge and Eſtate of a* Roman *Knight; for by acting the Farce, he had degraded himſelf.*

* *The Repreſentation of a Battel, wherein none but Horſe are engaged.*

* *A piece of Ground on the other ſide of* Tyber.

in the Crowd, and, amongſt the reſt, two Senators.

40. From theſe Divertiſements he betook himſelf to the Settlement of the Government; where firſt of all he reform'd the *Calendar*, which the Chief Prieſts had ſo confounded by their irregular and extravagant interlocution of Days, that neither the Harveſt fell out in Summer, nor the Vintage in Autumn. He accommodated the Year to the Courſe of the Sun, making it to conſiſt of 365 Days, and taking away the Leap-Month, inſerted a whole Day in every fourth Year; and that a more exact Computation of Time might be deriv'd down to after Ages, reckoning from the *Calends* of *January*, he put two Months betwixt *November* and *December*; ſo that the Year this Regulation was made, conſiſted of Fifteen Months with the Leap-month, which fell in that Year on courſe.

41. After this he fill'd up the Vacancies in the Senate, made new *Patricians*, augmented the numbers of *Prætors*, *Ædiles*, *Quæſtors*, and of more inferior Magiſtrates, reſtor'd thoſe whom the Cenſors had remov'd, mulcted, or degraded, or whom the Judges had convicted of corrupt and illegal canvaſing for Offices. He admitted the People into a Copartnerſhip with him in the Power of electing all Magiſtrates, except Conſuls, of whom they nominated one half, and he the other. He uſually declared his Men by little ſhort Billets, which were diſpatch'd to every Ward, and ran thus: Cæſar *the Dictator, to this or that Ward: I recommend theſe Perſons to you, that by the concurrence of your Voices they may be admitted to ſuch and ſuch* Offices.

Offices. He reinſtated the Children of ſuch as had been proſcrib'd, in a Capacity of bearing Places of Honour. He reſtrain'd the hearing of all Trials to ſuch of the Judges as were either Knights or Senators, ſuppreſſing thoſe of the Third Order, the Tribunes of the Exchequer. He numbred the poorer ſort of People in an unuſual Place, Street by Street; and in as unuſual a manner, by their Landlords; and reduc'd the 320000 who receiv'd Allowances of Corn out of the Publick Stock, to 150000: And to prevent all ſuch Concourſes of People as might at any time ariſe upon occaſion of theſe Reviews, he order'd the *Prætors* to fill up the dead Places every Year by Lot, with ſuch Perſons as had not before enjoy'd that Privilege.

42. For the better Peopling of the City, which was pretty well drain'd by the tranſportation of Eighty thouſand Inhabitants into Foreign Colonies, he made a Decree, That no Citizen betwixt Twenty and Forty years of Age, unleſs ſworn a Soldier in the States Service, ſhould abſent himſelf above Three years together out of *Italy*; That no Senator's Son ſhould go a travelling, unleſs in Quality of a Companion to a Magiſtrate; and, That all Graziers ſhould have at leaſt a third part of the Keepers of their Cattel Freemens Sons. He made all Phyſicians, and Profeſſors of the Liberal Arts, that were in *Rome*, free of the City, both as an Encouragement to them to live there, and as an Inducement to others to reſort thither, and partake of the ſame Privilege. Concerning Bankrupts, who had frequently importun'd him for Letters of Protection, which they hop'd for in that Juncture, he came at laſt to

this Reſolution, That they ſhould ſatisfie their Creditors according to the Rates they purchas'd at before the Troubles, deducting what had been either paid, or ſet down to them for Intereſt, out of the Principal; by which means the Creditors were forc'd to forego almoſt a fourth part of their Debts. He diſſolv'd all *Companies* that were not of ancient date, and ſet higher Penalties upon Criminals than had been formerly inflicted; for the Rich Men amongſt them being encourag'd in their licentious Exorbitancies, becauſe they could ſave their Eſtates by a voluntary Exile before Sentence, he made a Law, That Murderers ſhould forfeit all, (as *Cicero* informs us) and leſſer Delinquents half their Patrimony.

43. He was wonderfully induſtrious and ſevere in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; degraded even Senators themſelves, convict of Bribery or Extortion; null'd the Marriage of a Gentleman, who had formerly been *Prætor*, becauſe he married a Woman within two days after ſhe had left her former Husband, though there was really no ſuſpicion of Diſhoneſty in the Caſe. He laid Impoſts upon Foreign Commodities, reſtrain'd the uſe of Sedans, Purple Garments, and Jewels, to certain Perſons of ſuch an Age, and on ſuch Days only. He was particularly ſtrict in putting the *Sumptuary* Laws in execution: For, the better to repreſs all extravagant Entertainments, he not only diſperſed ſeveral Clerks of the Market up and down the Butcher-rows, to ſeiſe all ſuch Proviſions as ſhould be ſold contrary to Law, and bring them to him; but now and then ſent Serjeants and Officers under-hand into private Houſes, with Orders to take

take away the Meat off the very Tables, which ſhould chance to have eſcaped the diſcovery of his Overſeers.

44. And now new Projects began to grow and multiply upon him every day, as well for the Convenience and Ornament of the City, as for the Preſervation and Enlargement of his Dominions. He deſign'd in the firſt place to have erected ſuch a Temple to the Honour of *Mars*, as the World had not yet ſeen: In order whereunto, he purpoſed to fill up and level the Lake wherein he had exhibited his Sea-fight: After which he intended a moſt noble and ſpacious Theatre near the *Tarpeian* Mountain, deſign'd to abridge the confus'd and immenſe Body of the Civil Law into a Collection of the beſt and moſt neceſſary Statutes; to build moſt ſtately Libraries for Greek and Latin Authors, which *M. Varro* was to procure and digeſt; to drain the Marſhes of *Pomptina*; to let out the Lake *Fucinus*; to make a Cawſey from the *Adriatick* Coaſts, along the Ridge of the *Apennine* Hills, as far as *Tyber*; to cut through (*the Corinthian*) *Iſthmus*; to repreſs the *Daci*, who had made Inroads into *Pontus* annd *Thrace*; and after that, to war upon the *Parthians* by invading the leſſer *Armenia*, not intending to come to the deciſion of a Battel, without ſome previous Experiment of their Strength and Proweſs: But *Death* came and blaſted all theſe grand Deſigns, which before I relate, it may not be improper to give you a ſummary Account of his Perſon, Carriage, Attire, Manners, and Exerciſes, Civil as well as Military.

45. He is reported to have been a tall proper Perſon, of a fair Complexion, clean Limb'd,

pretty full-fac'd, with black brisk Eyes, and of an healthful Conſtitution; only in the decline of his Years he was apt to ſwoon away ſuddenly, and to be terrified in his Dreams; beſides two Fits of the Falling-ſickneſs, which ſeiz'd him in the very heat of Buſineſs. He was ſo ſcrupulouſly neat and curious about his Body, that he not only us'd to clip and ſhave cloſe, but to pull up the Hairs by the Roots, as ſome gave out againſt him. His Baldneſs was a great grievance to him, having often been play'd upon for it; and therefore to conceal it as well as he could, he would always comb his Hair forward from the Crown of his Head: And of all the Honours done him by the Senate and People, none was ever more graciouſly receiv'd, or more willingly made uſe of by him, than the Privilege of conſtantly wearing a Laurel Garland. Beſides this, he was, they ſay, ſingular in his Garb, wearing his Senators ſtudded Coat with Sleeves down to, and fring'd about his Wriſts, girt round him conſtantly, but very looſly; which gave occaſion to that Caveat of *Sylla*, who frequently warn'd the Grandees of the State *to beware of that Lad who went ſo ill girded.*

46. He dwelt firſt in an ordinary Houſe in the Street *Subura*, whence he removed, after his entring upon the Pontificate, to one of the great Halls belonging to the City in *Via Sacra*. Several Authors inform us, he was a great Admirer of Neatneſs in his Houſe, and his Entertainments. Having one time, at a vaſt Expence, built him a Noble Country-houſe, from the very Foundation, in the *Nemorenſian* Territories, he pull'd it down to the Ground again, becauſe

becauſe it did not exactly hit the Model in his Fancy, tho he was at that time low in the World, and in Debt. He had always amongſt his Carriages, in his Expeditions, a parcel of ſmall ſquare pieces of chequer'd Marble, to pave the Floor of his own Tent with.

47. The hopes of a great Prize of Pearls drew him into *Great Britain*, whoſe Weight he would ſometimes compare, as well as their Bulk. He was always wonderfully curious, and gave any Moneys towards the compleating his Collection of Jewels, Pieces of Thrown Work, Statues, and Pictures, with other Originals and Maſter-pieces of Antiquity. He purchaſed gentile handſom Slaves, ſuch as were not yet broken by Labour and Toil, at Rates he was ſo aſham'd to own, that he would not ſuffer them to be entred amongſt his Accounts.

48. He kept two conſtant Tables during his Command in the *Roman* Provinces; one for his inferior Dependents, and the *Græcians*; another for the more Honourable *Romans* in his Train, and the Gentlemen of the beſt Quality in the Country. He kept ſo ſtrict and ſevere a hand over his Domeſticks, in the more minute as well as greater Concerns of his Family, that he clapt Irons upon a Baker, for having laid his Gueſts coarſer Bread than himſelf; and put one of his Gentlemen to Death, otherwiſe his peculiar Favorite, for debauching a *Roman* Knights Lady, without any formal Complaint made againſt him.

49. Nothing ever reflected upon his Chaſtity, but his Familiarity with *Nicomedes*; a deep and indelible Blot, that expos'd him to the Wit and

Raillery of every Man. Not to mention the known Paſquil of *Calvus Licinius*,

——*Whate're* Bithynia
And Cæſar's *great Gallant enjoy'd.*

Nor the Libels of *Dolabella* and *Curio* the Elder; wherein the former calls him the *Queens Cuckold-maker*, and the *Kings Bed-fellow who laid next the Wall*: And the latter *Nicomedes his Stable*, and the *Bawdy houſe of* Bithynia. To omit likewiſe *Bibulus* his Edicts, wherein he publickly ſtil'd him *Queen* of Bithynia; declaring, *He once lov'd a King ſo well, that he had now ſet his affections upon a Kingdom.* About this time *M. Brutus* tells us, there was one *Octavius*, a prating Fellow, whoſe tongue uſually got the ſtart of his wit, who having, before a great Company, treated *Pompey* with the Title of *King*, ſaluted him by that of *Queen*: Nay, *C. Memmius* charges him to have ſerved *Nicomedes* in quality of Cup-Bearer, amongſt other overgrown Pathics, in preſence of ſeveral Factors of *Rome* then at Table, whom he names: And *Cicero* not content to have aſſerted in ſome Epiſtles of his, that the Spark who ſprang from *Venus* forſooth, being conducted by ſome of the Guard into the Kings Bedchamber, was there clothed in Purple, laid upon a Bed of Gold, and defloured in his blooming years; took yet farther occaſion to reflect ſeverely upon him, when in his Plea before the Senate for *Niſa*, (*Nicomedes* his Daughter) chancing to commemorate the good offices that King had done him, he cut him ſhort, *No more of that let me beg you, Sir, we all know very well what has paſſed betwixt you two*: And to conclude this remarque, the

the Soldiers, who attended his Chariot in his Gallic Triumph, amongſt other merry Songs, uſed upon ſuch occaſions, had this noted Lampoon up:

Gallias Cæſar *ſubegit*, Nicomedes Cæſarem:
Ecce Cæſar *nunc triumphat, qui ſubegit Gallias:*
Nicomedes *non triumphat, qui ſubegit* Cæſarem?

Cæſar *o'recame the* Gauls: *the mighty thing*
It ſelf turn'd back to great Bithynia's *King.*
Cæſar *triumphs: And why not He much more,*
Who proſtrate laid the huffing Conqueror?

50. He is generally reported to have been a great and expenſive Lover of Women, and to have debauched ſeveral Ladies of good quality; as *Poſthumia*, the Wife of *Servius Sulpitius*; *Lollia*, *Gabinius's*; *Tertulla*, *Craſſus's*; and *Mucia*, *Pompey's*: For I am well aſſured both the *Curio's*, Father and Son, beſides ſeveral others, upbraided *Pompey*, that *the extravagancy of his ambition ſhould ever induce him to marry the Daughter of that man, for whoſe intimacy with his Wife, after he had got three children of her, he was obliged to divorce her, and by whom, in the height of his reſentments, he had frequently acknowledged himſelf to have been cuckolded.* But his greateſt paſſion was for *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, whom, in his late Conſulſhip, he preſented with a Jewel that coſt him ſixty hundred thouſand *Seſterces*; beſides other conſiderable boons during the Civil War, and particularly the cheap and eaſie purchaſe of ſeveral noble Farms expoſed to publick ſale. Moſt people being ſurprized at her good bargain, *Cicero* quibbled upon't, ſaying:

They would reckon it a better Pennyworth, if they knew that Tertia *was* deducta, a third part of that low rate abated, or (as the words tacitely intimated) *that* Servilia *had prostituted her Daughter* Tertia *to* Cæsar's *embraces*, as was then generally surmis'd.

51. He had to do with several Provincial Ladies too, as appears from these Verses which the Soldiers had up, amongst the rest, at his Gallic Triumph.

Cits, now be sure to keep your Wives at home,
For here's a Bald, Triumphant Stallion come:
In Gaul *they made thee pay for whoring dear,*
But thou hast been Cornuted gratis *here.*

52. He had a passion likewise for several Queens; as for *Eunöe*, Wife to *Bogud*, King of *Marocco*, both whom he often presented with most magnificent marks of his favour, as *Naso* informs us. But his darling Mistress was *Cleopatra*, whom he often regal'd all the night long, and whom he had certainly accompanied in the same Yacht, or Pleasure-Boat, into *Ægypt*, almost as far as *Æthiopia*, had not his Army refused to comply with the frollick. After this, he invited her to *Rome*, and at her return home, loaded her with the greatest honours and rewards he could heap upon her; giving her leave withal to call a Son of hers by his name; and who, as some *Greek* Writers deliver, resembled him both in his Person and his Gate: Nay, *M. Antonius* depos'd before the Senate, that *Cæsar* own'd him for his Son, appealing farther to the testimony of *C. Matius*, and *C. Oppius*, with others of his Friends and Acquaintance, who, he assured

assured them, knew it as well as he; the latter whereof, looking upon it as an aspersion from which he ought to vindicate both his Friend and himself, put forth a Book upon the Subject, wherein he endeavoured to prove, *that the Child whom* Cleopatra *Father'd upon* Cæsar, *was none of his. Helvius Cinna,* Tribune of the People, acknowledged to several, that he had a Bill ready prepared by him, which *Cæsar* commanded him to get past into a Law during his absence, whereby he might be authoriz'd to marry what Wives, and in what number he pleas'd, to secure him Issue: And to put it out of all doubt, that he was notoriously infamous for both passive and active uncleanness; *Curio* the Father, in one of his Orations stiles him, *Every womans man, and every mans woman.*

53. His very Enemies cannot but do him the justice, to acknowledge he never drank to excess. *M. Cato* was wont to say, *He was the only sober man that ever attempted the Subversion of the Government. C. Oppius* tells us, he was so little curious in his Diet, that his Host having one time serv'd up a Dish with a sort of Unguent, instead of the best Oyl, which would not go down with the rest of the Company, he eat more heartily than ordinarily of it, rather than seem to tax his Landlord of being a Sloven.

54. He never balk'd any opportunity of raising money, either in his Civil or Military employs: For as some Records inform us, he begg'd considerable sums of money of the * Proconsul, and Allies in *Spain*, towards the discharge of his debts. He pillaged several Towns in *Portugal* in an hostile manner, after they had obeyed all his commands, and opened their Gates

* *That was his Predecessor in the Province.*

Gates to receive him; plundered the Churches and other Religious Houſes in *Gaul*, of a great many rich Oblations, devoted to the Honour and Service of their Gods, and demoliſh'd ſeveral Cities, more for the ſake of the Spoil, than Puniſhment of their Crimes; by which means he got together ſuch vaſt quantities of Gold, that he ſold the overplus to his own private uſe in *Italy*, and the Provinces, at 3000 *Seſterces* a pound. In his firſt Conſulſhip he ſtole three thouſand pound weight of Gold out of the Capitol, and put ſo much gilt Braſs into its room. The bare Titles of King and Allie, were not to be purchas'd without Money. *Ptolemy* (*Auletes*) alone was glad to pay near 6000 Talents for the Service done him by himſelf and *Pompey*; and at laſt he came to downright Rapine and Sacrilege, to ſupport the expenſive Burdens of the Civil War, his Shews and Triumphs.

55. He equall'd, if not excell'd, the moſt celebrated Inſtances of Eloquence and Military Knowledge. After his Impeachment of *Dolabella*, he was always look'd upon as one of the ableſt Pleaders that came to the Bar. *Cicero*, in his Account of Famous Orators, dedicated to *Brutus*, proteſts for his part, *He never met with that Man yet who out did* Cæſar; and declares him to have an *Elegant*, *Bright*, *Majeſtick*, and *Gentleman-like Stile*: And in a Letter to *Cornelius Nepos*, gives him this Character: *What do you talk?* ſays he, *Which of all your Orators, even of thoſe who have made it their Study and Profeſſion, can you prefer before him? Who more copious, more poinant in his Sentences? Who more clean and neat in the choice of his Words?* In his greener Years he ſeems

ſeems to have imitated the Stile of *Strabo Cæſar*, having even transferr'd ſome Paſſages *verbatim* out of his Defence of the City of *Sardes*, into one of his own Pleas. His Delivery was clear and acute, his Geſtures brisk and ardent, but graceful withal. He left ſome Orations behind him, amongſt which others have been foiſted in, as that for *Q. Metellus*, which *Auguſtus* rationally imagines is ſome imperfect Copy publiſh'd by the Clerks or Notaries, who took his Senſe but lamely, rather than his own; for ſome Manuſcripts read it inſcribed thus: —*Which he wrote to* Metellus, not *for* Metellus; the whole Speech running in the Perſon of *Cæſar*, who vindicates *Metellus* and himſelf from certain Calumnies and Aſperſions their common Detractors had caſt upon them. Neither does *Auguſtus* entertain any better opinion of thoſe two Orations, pretended to have been made by him to his Soldiers in *Spain*, one before his firſt, the other before his latter Engagement there; at what time *Aſinius Pollio* aſſures us, the ſudden Onſet of the Enemy gave him no time to harangue.

56. He has left us Memoires of his own Actions: Thoſe of his *Gallic* and Civil Wars are certainly genuine; but 'tis not yet determin'd who wrote the Hiſtories of the reſt, in *Alexandria*, *Afric*, and *Spain*: For ſome father them upon *Oppius*, others upon *Hirtius*, who compleated the laſt imperfect Book of his Wars in *Gaul*. *Cicero*, in the forementioned Tract written to *Brutus*, paſſes this Judgment upon them: *His Commentaries*, ſays he, *are admirable*; *they are clean, juſt, and graceful, ſtripp'd of all the Flouriſh and Garniture of Stile: And though he deſign'd*

deſign'd them only as rude indigeſted Collections, for thoſe who would hereafter take the pains to form them into the Body of an exact Hiſtory, yet are they a Pattern which no ſober judicious Author will dare to write after, whatever borrowed Lights and Advantages ſome trifling Scriblers may think them capable of, from their little rhetorical Embelliſhments. Hirtius gives this Character of them: *They are ſo univerſally approved, that he ſeems rather to have anticipated than encourag'd the Labours of other Hiſtorians: And yet I have more reaſon to admire them than any one; for others only know the Neatneſs and Correctneſs, but I the Quickneſs and Eaſineſs of his Pen. Pollio Aſinius* is of opinion, Matters of Fact are not reported with that accuracy and faithfulneſs they ought; for that the Account he gives of the Exploits done by other Men, were raſhly took up upon truſt: And as for his own, he relates them but lamely, either out of deſign, or meer forgetfulneſs; and therefore imagines he intended to reviſe and correct them. He left two Books of *Proportion*; two againſt *Cato*, entituled *Anticatones*; beſides a Poem call'd *The Journey*. The two firſt he wrote in his Paſſage over the *Alps*, as he return'd from the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the hither *Gallia* to the Army: The other two about the time of the Battel at *Munda*; and the laſt in his four and twenty days Expedition from *Rome* to the farther *Spain*. There are alſo extant ſome Letters of his to the Senate; the firſt, poſſibly, that ever were writ in diſtinct Leaves, in faſhion of a Note-book: For before that time the Conſuls and Generals wrote croſs the Margin, what could not be conveniently compriz'd in a ſingle Page. He has ſome alſo

to

to *Cicero*, others to his Friends about Domeſtick Affairs; where, in the communication of a Secret, he ſo tranſpos'd the Letters, that no one entire Word could be made out of them; the way to decypher which Character, was by commuting one Letter for another; as for inſtance, The fourth Letter of the Alphabet for the firſt, *d* for *a*, and the like. Some Pieces he is ſaid to have compoſed whilſt he was yet a Boy, as, *An Encomium upon* Hercules, *The Tragedy of* Oedipus, and *A Collection of Apophthegms*: The Publication of all which Tracts *Auguſtus* prohibited in a plain ſuccinct Letter, directed to *Pompeius Macrus* his Library-keeper.

57. He underſtood his Weapon admirably well, was an excellent Horſeman, and indefatigably laborious. He marched at the Head of his Troops, ſometimes on Horſeback, oftner on Foot, but always bare-headed, both in hot and wet Weather. He was a Perſon of that incredible Expedition, as to diſpatch 100 Miles a day for ſome time together in a Hackney-Coach, ſwimming ſuch Rivers as might otherwiſe retard his Journey, or elſe paſſing them by the help of blown Bladders, ſo that he frequently out-run all Intelligence of his Approach.

58. 'Tis not eaſily determin'd whether he was more bold or wary in his Military Conduct. He never march'd his Army through ſuſpicious ways, till he had firſt narrowly examin'd them. Before his Expedition into *Britain*, he perſonally ſurvey'd the Harbors, the Road, and moſt acceſſible Avenues into the Iſland: And yet the ſame Man being inform'd of the Beſiege of his Camp in *Germany*, paſs'd

paſs'd the Enemies Guards to his Army in the Habit of a *Gaul*. He cut from *Brunduſium* to *Dyrrachium*, betwixt two of the Enemies Squadrons, in the depth of Winter; and his Troops, whom he had commanded to follow him, refuſing to ſail, after repeated, but ineffectual Meſſages to that purpoſe, he muffl'd up his Head, and in the night time put to Sea in a ſmall Pinnace, without any Company but his Pilot, to whom he would neither diſcover himſelf, nor ſuffer him to let the Veſſel drive, till he was almoſt caſt away in a Storm.

59. No ominous Preſage could ever deter, or but divert him from the Proſecution of his Deſigns. The Victim that ran away as 'twas going to be ſacrific'd, was not ſufficient to retard his Expedition againſt *Scipio* and *Juba*; and though he fell down too at his very Landing, yet he inverted the *Omen*, crying out, *Now I have thee faſt, Afric:* And to elude an old Prophecy concernieg the great Succeſs which ſhould always attend the *Scipio*'s Arms in that Country, he kept a mean contemptible Wretch of that Name in his Camp, of an obſcure Family of the *Cornelii*, nick-nam'd * *Salutio*.

* *From a Comical Stage player, whom he reſembled in his Perſon and Humors.*

60. He not only took ſet-times, but any fair opportunity, to attaque his Enemy: Many times immediately upon a March, ſometimes in the fouleſt Weather imaginable, when he was leaſt dreamt of; only in the decline of his Years he grew a little more ſlow and wary, judging it highly imprudent, raſhly to tempt his Fortune after ſuch repeated Conqueſts; well knowing, that one Defeat then would detract more

more from, than a ſingle Victory could poſſibly ſuperadd to the Glory of his Arms. He never worſted an Enemy, but he routed him quite out of his Camp, leaving them no time to rally again through the eagerneſs of his Purſuit. If at any time he obſerv'd the Succeſs of the Day to be diſputable, he ſent all the Horſes, and his own firſt, out of the Field; that the Cavalry being under an impoſſibility of flying, might be forc'd to fight it out.

61. One of his War-horſes was ſingularly remarkable, with Feet almoſt like a Mans, and Hoofs cloven like Toes, which he bred up from a Colt extreme curiouſly, after the Soothſayers had declar'd their Opinion, that he predicted no leſs than an univerſal Monarchy to his Owner. He back'd him himſelf, for the Horſe would admit no other Rider; and afterwards erected his Statue before the Temple of *Venus*, the Goddeſs of Propagation.

62. He frequently renew'd the Battel wherein his Forces began to give back, by his own perſonal Valour, ſtopping the Renegadoes, catching them by the Throats, and forcing their Faces upon the Enemy; even when they were in ſuch horrid diſorder, that endeavouring once but to ſtay one of his Enſigns, he threatned him with the pointed end of his Standard; and another leaving it in his Hand, betook himſelf to the laſt refuge of his Heels.

63. But there are yet higher Inſtances of his great Reſolution: Having, after the Battel of *Pharſalia*, tranſported his Forces before-hand into *Aſia*, and following them over the *Helleſpont* in a Ferry-boat, he met with *L. Caſſius* of the oppoſite Party, with a Squadron of ten Men of

of War; whom he was ſo far from declining, that he bore up briskly to him, and adviſing him to yield, upon his ſubmiſſion, received him aboard.

64. Being repulſed, and forced into a little Skiff, by a ſudden ſally of the Enemy; at the taking of the Bridge in the Siege of *Alexandria*, and ſeveral others crowding in with him, he jump'd into the Sea, where he ſwam two hundred paces, till he had recovered the next Veſſel, carrying his left hand above water all the while, to preſerve ſome Papers in it from wet, and dragging his Generals Robe in his teeth, to hinder ſo honourable a Spoil from falling into the Enemies hand.

65. He valued not Qualifications or Eſtate, but only Strength and Courage in a Soldier, and ruled them with an equal temperature of gentleneſs and ſeverity; for he was not ſtiff and rigid in his diſcipline at all times and places, but only when the Enemy was at hand; then indeed he kept them up cloſe to their duty, not as much as acquainting them either when he intended to march, or engage, that they might be ready to be led on at a minutes warning whither he pleas'd: Nay, he would many times give them falſe alarms, eſpecially in wet weather, and on holidays; and charging them now and then to have an eye upon him, he would ſuddenly withdraw himſelf from them, ſometimes by day, other times by night, making long marches to tire thoſe who haſtned not after him.

66. If his Soldiers were at any time dejected, with the report of the number of their Enemies Forces, he never went about to buoy up their ſinking

ſinking courage, by denying or mincing the matter, but by enlarging upon it. Thus, when they were generally fill'd with frightful apprehenſions of *Juba*'s approach, having called them before him, he harangu'd them in this manner: *Know for a certainty the King will be amongſt us in a few days, with ten Legions, thirty thouſand Horſe, an hundred thouſand light-arm'd Foot, and three hundred Elephants; and therefore let ſome querulous Gentlemen amongſt you trouble their heads no farther about it, but believe me, who know it to be true; or elſe I ſhall certainly take care to have them ſhip'd in ſome old ſhatter'd Veſſel, and ſo commit them to the mercy of the Winds and Waves.*

67. He neither took cognizance of, nor puniſhed all Offenders according to their demerits; only he made diligent inquiry after, and put the Martial Law moſt ſtrictly in execution againſt Mutineers, and deſerters of their colours. After a Battel, and ſome notable Victory obtained, he would now and then relax the reins of his diſcipline, and indulge them in all the licentious ſoftneſs incident to a Soldiers Life, boaſting frequently, *that his Men could fight amidſt their very debauches.* Nor did he only addreſs himſelf to them by the name of Soldiers, but by the more indearing compellation of *Fellow Soldiers*; keeping them always ſpruce and gay, appointed with Arms glittering with gold and ſilver, and that not only for pomp and oſtentation, but that the juſt apprehenſions of their value might oblige them more tenaciouſly to defend them. Beſides this, he expreſſed that tender concern for their welfare, that hearing but of the defeat *Titurius* had received, he vow'd never to ſhave his Beard, nor cut his Hair, till he

had ſufficiently reveng'd him; by which means, he not only improved their valour, but devoted them intirely to his ſervice.

68. At his entring upon the Civil War, every Centurion offered him an Horſe out of his own pay, and the whole Body of his Army tendred their ſervice *gratis*, the richer ſort having engaged for the ſupport and relief of the poorer. None of his Soldiers ever revolted from him in ſo long a tract of time, and ſeveral of 'em taken Priſoners, refuſed quarter when offered, upon the diſhonourable terms of bearing Arms againſt him. They endured Famine, and other extremities of War, as well when they beſieged the Enemy, as when beſieged by them, with that unwearied conſtancy of mind, that *Pompey* ſeeing a ſort of Bread, made of Herbs, which ſuſtained them during the Siege of *Dyrrachium*, ſaid, *He believed, for his part, he had to do with wild Beaſts rather than with Men*; commanding it to be removed quickly out of ſight, leſt the obſtinacy of the Enemy once diſcovered, ſhould utterly deſpirit his Soldiers. With what reſolution they fought, may be eaſily evinc'd from the ſingle inſtance of the Battel near *Dyrrachium*, which going unhappily againſt them, they voluntarily ſollicited their General to puniſh them, inſomuch that he had more need at that time to alleviate, than enhance their ſorrows by correction. In all their other engagements they carried away an eaſie Victory over much more numerous Forces than themſelves: And in ſhort, a ſingle Company of his ſixth Legion, ordered for the defence of one of his works before *Dyrrachium*, maintain'd it ſeveral hours together againſt four of *Pompey*'s Legions, till they were almoſt all ſhot

ſhot to pieces with their Arrows; an hundred and thirty thouſand whereof were afterwards found in their Trenches. Nor need any man think it ſtrange, if he conſider but a little the exploits of ſome particular men amongſt them, as of *Caſſius Scæva* their Captain, or of *C. Acilius* a common Soldier; the former of which kept the entry into the Work, committed to his truſt, after the loſs of an Eye, wounds in the Shoulder and Thigh, and an hundred and twenty ſhots quite through his Buckler: The latter having his right hand cut off, wherewith he grapled one of the Enemies Ships, at a Sea-fight near *Marſeilles*, like the famous *Cynægyrus* amongſt the *Greeks*, jump'd into her, and beat all down before him with the loſs of his Buckler.

69. His Army never mutined during the whole *ſeries* of his ten years Wars in *Gaul*: Seldom in the Civil Wars, and were even then quickly reduc'd to their obedience, and that not ſo much through his eaſineſs and indulgence, as the awful Authority he had amongſt them; for he never complyed with, or cringed to the mutineers, but carried it with a high hand againſt them: He caſhier'd his ninth Legion at *Placentia* with ignominy and diſgrace, tho' *Pompey* was ſtill up in Arms; and was not afterwards prevail'd upon, without earneſt and repeated applications, and juſtice done upon the Offenders, to readmit them into his ſervice.

70. His tenth Legion at *Rome*, bluſtring, and making a great clamour about their rewards and diſcharge, not without imminent danger to the City; he went in Perſon and disbanded them, tho' 'twas in the very heat of the War in *Africk*, and contrary to the ſollicitations of his

Friends, but with the ſingle Compellation of *Romans*, in ſtead of *Soldiers*, wrought ſo effectually upon them, that they immediately replied, they were *Soldiers* as well as *Romans*, and follow'd him into *Africk*, though he rejected the Offer of their Service: And yet notwithſtanding all this ſubmiſſion, he mulcted the Ringleaders amongſt them a third part of the Plunder and Lands he deſign'd them.

71. The Intereſt of his Clients he aſſerted with great zeal and fidelity from his youth. He expreſs'd that eager Concern in pleading the Cauſe of *Maſintha*, a young Gentleman nobly deſcended, againſt King *Hiempſal*, that in the heat of his Argument he took his Son Prince *Juba* by the Beard; and when the Court afterward declar'd him Tributary to the King, he reſcu'd him out of the Hands of the Officers who came to ſeize him, and conceal'd him a long time at his own Houſe; and when, after his Prætorſhip was expir'd, he went for *Spain*, convey'd him away in his own Sedan, amidſt the officious Crowd of Attendants and Friends, who came to pay their Complements at his departure.

72. He was always ſo paſſionately kind and indulgent to his Friends, that *C. Oppius* falling ſuddenly ſick in his Journey with him through a Foreſt, he reſign'd his own Quarters to him in the Inn, which was but one, whilſt he himſelf lodg'd in the open Air, and on a Pallat laid upon the Ground. After he had got the Government into his hands, he advanc'd ſome of the vileſt of the Rabble to Offices of the higheſt Truſt and Honour; and being taxed with it, declar'd openly, *That if Highway-men and Ruffians*

Ruffians had aſſiſted him in aſſerting his Character, he would equally have expreſs'd his Gratitude to them too.

73. He never conceiv'd ſo inveterate a Grudge againſt any Man, as not to lay it aſide upon a fair occaſion. Notwithſtanding the bitter Invectives of *C. Memmius* againſt him, and to which he had made as ſevere Replies, he gave him his Vote a little after for the Conſulſhip. *C. Calvus*, who had libell'd him in ſome ſcurrilous and abuſive Epigrams, courting a Reconciliation afterwards by the Mediation of his Friends, he generouſly, on his own accord, anticipated the Requeſt, by writing to him firſt. *Valerius Catullus*, who, as he owned himſelf, had caſt an indelible blot upon his Name, by his Verſes upon *Mamurra*, giving him ſome ſlight ſatisfaction, he invited him the ſame day to Supper, and Inn'd afterwards at his Father's Houſe, as he us'd to do.

74. He was not at all of a revengeful temper: Indeed the Oath he made to crucifie the Pyrats who took him Priſoner, if ever they came into his Clutches, oblig'd him to be as good as his word to them; yet however, *to dead their ſenſe of the lingring Pains of the Croſs*, he commanded them firſt to be ſtrangled. He never retaliated upon *Cornelius Phagita*, though he had much ado, even by bribing the Meſſengers, to eſcape the night-trepans he laid for him in the time of his Sickneſs, and abſconding from *Sylla*. He put *Philemon*, his Amanuenſis, who had undertook to poiſon him, only to a ſimple Death, without Torture. Being cited as a Witneſs againſt *P. Clodius*, accus'd of converſing too familiarly with his Wife *Pompeia*, and

who thereupon ſtood guilty of polluting the Sacred Ceremonies, he utterly denied that he knew any thing of the buſineſs, though his Mother *Aurelia*, and Siſter *Julia*, had depos'd the whole Matter of Fact upon Oath before the ſame Judges: whereupon being ask'd, Why therefore he divorc'd her? *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *I would have all who relate to me, as free from the Suſpicion, as the Guilt of an ill Action.*

75. He gave admirable Inſtances of his Moderation and Clemency, not only during the Civil War, but the enjoyment of his after-Victory. *Pompey* having pronounc'd them all Enemies to the State, who were not actually in Arms in its defence, he on the contrary declar'd, he would look upon all Neuters as his own Men. He gave them all free leave to go over to *Pompey*'s ſide, whom he had advanc'd to any Command upon his recommendation. There being a Ceſſation of Arms, and mutual Commerce betwixt the two Parties, during the Treaty about Articles of Surrendry at *Ilerda* in *Spain*, *Afranius* and *Petreius* put all *Cæſar*'s Soldiers to the Sword, who were found in their Camp upon its ſudden diſſolution, whilſt he generouſly ſcorn'd to repay the perfidious Trick in its own kind. He iſſu'd forth a Proclamation at the Battel of *Pharſalia*, commanding, *That all Cizens ſhould have Quarter*; gave every man leave to ſave one of the oppoſite Party, whom he pleas'd, nor would permit any one to be ſlain after the heat of the Engagement, except only *Afranius*, *Fauſtus* (*Sulla*) and *L. Cæſar* the younger; and theſe, 'tis thought, without his Order too, notwithſtanding the two firſt had rebell'd after the grant of a Pardon, and the laſt

laſt, not content to have perſecuted his Freemen and Slaves to death with Fire and Sword, in a moſt barbarous manner butcher'd the very Beaſts prepar'd for his Publick Shews. To be ſhort, he at laſt gave them all leave, who had not as yet got their Pardons, to return into *Italy*, making them capable of bearing Employs both Civil and Military: Nay, he reſtor'd the very Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, which the Rabble had thrown down; and choſe rather for the future to caution his Subjects againſt, than puniſh them for Treaſonable Words and Deſigns; and accordingly never took farther notice of Plots and dangerous Night-Clubs and Cabals, diſcover'd to him, than publickly to acquaint them by his Edicts, that he had ſufficient Information of them; contenting himſelf in the Popular Aſſemblies to admoniſh thoſe who inveigh'd againſt him or his Government, to forbear; and with an even temper of Mind, bore the Aſperſions which *Aulus Cæcina*, in a ſcandalous Pamphlet, and *Pitholaus*, in a virulent Satyr, had thrown upon him.

76. And yet his Vices ſo far out-balance his Virtues, that he may ſeem to have abus'd his Authority, and deſerv'd death: For he not only arrogated too great Honours to himſelf, as the continual Exerciſe of the Conſulſhip, the perpetual Dictatorſhip, the Power of Cenſor under a more ſpecious Name, the Title of Emperor, and of Father of his Country, his Statue amongſt the Kings, a particular Box for himſelf at the Theatre; but accepted of others too big for the Circumſtances of bare Mortality to ſupport: As, a Chair of Gold in the Senate, and Aſſemblies of the People, the carrying of

his Effigies in ſolemn Proceſſion at the *Circenſian* Games, Temples, Altars, Images of himſelf plac'd near the Gods, a conſecrated Couch for his Godhead's Statue to repoſe upon, his Prieſt common to other Deities, beſides ſuch as were peculiarly appropriated to the Service of *Pan*, and the Credit of having one Month in the Year call'd after his own Name: In ſum, he receiv'd and conferr'd what Honours he pleas'd. The third and fourth Years he contented himſelf with the bare Title of Conſul, and Authority of Dictator, beſtow'd upon him at the ſame time; ſubſtituting two Conſuls for the three laſt Months of each Year, ſo that in the mean time he never call'd any Elections, but of Tribunes and Ædiles of the People, and conſtituted Præfects inſtead of Prætors, who manag'd the City Affairs in his abſence. One of the Conſuls dying ſuddenly on the laſt of *December*, he fill'd up the Vacancy with a Perſon who begg'd it for the poor remains of the few Hours of the Year yet unexpir'd. After the ſame arbitrary manner he violated the ancient Privilege of the Annual Election of Magiſtrates, inveſted ten Perſons who had been Prætors with the Power of wearing Conſular Robes, admitted ſome who were but enfranchis'd, and *Gauls*, not half civiliz'd, into the Senate; intruſted only his own Dependents with the Management of the Mint, and the Publick Revenues, and gave his Freeman *Ruffinus* his Son, a ſtale Pathick of his, the Command of three Legions he left at *Alexandria*.

77. Nor did his Expreſſions ſpeak him leſs inſolent than his Actions: *T. Amplius* reports he ſaid, *The Commonwealth was become an empty Name,*

Name, without either reality or appearance: That Sylla *was an ignorant Fellow, to lay down his Dictatorſhip ſo eaſily: That Men ought to take care what they ſaid to him at that time of day, and look upon his Dictates as Laws.* Nay, he was arriv'd at that height of Arrogance, that a Soothſayer preſaging ſome ſad Event from the want of an Heart in a Beaſt that was to be ſacrific'd, he reply'd, *The Victims will tell you better things when I have a mind: What great matter is it for a Beaſt to be without a Heart?*

78. But the moſt flagrant *Odium* he drew upon himſelf, was from his haughty deportment to the Senators, whom he receiv'd ſitting before the Temple of *Venus*, when they came in a full Body to wait upon him, with ſeveral Honourable Decrees paſs'd on his behalf. Some ſay *Cornelius Balbus* held him down as he was riſing; others affirm, he was ſo far from offering at it, that on the contrary, C. *Trebatius* ſuggeſting it to him, receiv'd the Reprimand of a Frown for his pains. A piece of State highly inſupportable in him, who paſſing by the Tribunes Seats in one of his Triumphs, ſo heinouſly reſented the ſame Incivility from *Pontius Aquila*, that in a mighty huff he cried out, *Well done*, Aquila, *That Tribuneſhip had beſt try whether or no you can wreſt the Government out of my Hands.* Nor would he, for ſeveral days after, make a Grant to any Man, without this *Proviſo* in deriſion, *If* Pontius Aquila *pleaſes to give me leave.*

79. And yet he ſeconded this egregious affront to the Senate, with a much more daring action: For ſome of the crowd, during the unuſual and immoderate acclamations of the Rabble, at his return from the Sacrifice at the *Latin* Fe-

* *An Enſign of Royalty.*

Feſtivals, having clapt a Laurel Crown, * girt about with a white band, upon his Statue; and the Tribunes of the People, *Epidius*, *Marullus*, and *Cæſetius Flavus*, commanding it to be taken off, and the Fellow who tied it on to be laid by the heels; he was ſo netled, either at the ill ſucceſs of this fair offer at Kingſhip, or, as he pretended, at them who rob'd him of the honour of the refuſal; that after a ſevere rebuke, he turn'd them out of Office. Never could he from this time claw off the ſuſpition of affecting Kingly Power, though he afterwards replied to ſome of the tumultuous *mobile*, who ſaluted him by that Title, *That he was* Cæſar *indeed*, *but no King*: And had ſeveral times, at the ſolemnization of certain Feſtivals, in the honour of *Pan*, refus'd the proffer of a Crown, in the popular Aſſemblies, from the Conſul *Anthony*, and preſented it to *Jupiter* in the Capitol. Beſides, 'twas generally reported, that having firſt drain'd the Empire of its riches, *Italy* of its ableſt Soldiers, and committed the Government of the City to ſome of his Friends, he deſign'd for *Alexandria* or *Troy*. And they ſay *L. Cotta* was to declare his opinion, at the next meeting of the Houſe, that *Cæſar* ought to enjoy the Title of King, becauſe the old Propheſies had foretold the *Parthians* were not to be conquer'd, but by a King.

80. And 'twas this put the Conſpirators upon haſtning the Execution of their deſign, becauſe they knew not handſomly how to decline their aſſent to the propoſal: They reſolv'd therefore from private Clubbs and Cabals up and down the City, into one common Conſult of all together; to which they were the rather encou-

rag'd,

rag'd, from the uneaſineſs of the People themſelves, under the preſent ſtate of affairs, who began now, both in private and publick, to withdraw their Allegiance, and wiſh for ſome bold Patriots to aſſert their invaded Liberties. Upon his admiſſion of Foreigners into the Senate, there was a Libel ſet up, Prefac'd with a *Bonum factum, Speed it well*, &c. *Pray let none ſhew our new Senators the way to the Houſe.* And this Diſtich was commonly ſung upon the ſame occaſion.

The Gauls, *in Triumph led, their Pantaloons*
Shake off, and now put on their Senate Gowns.

When *Q. Maximus*, whom he had ſubſtituted Conſul for three Months time, entred the Theatre, and the Serjeant, who uſher'd him in, commanded the people, according to the uſual cuſtom, to make room for, and pay their reſpects to him; they unanimouſly cryed out, *He was no Conſul.* Upon his removal of *Cæſetius* and *Marullus* from the Tribuneſhip, they had ſeveral Voices for the Conſulſhip next Election. Some body wrote theſe words under *L. Brutus* his Statue, *O that thou wert alive again!* And under *Cæſar*'s theſe, Brutus *was created the firſt Conſul, for ridding us of Kings; and this Gentleman King at laſt, for throwing out the Conſuls.* There were above ſixty Perſons engag'd in the Conſpiracy againſt him, of whom *C. Caſſius*, and *Marcus*, and *Decimus Brutus*, were chief: Who having ſpent ſome time in debate about the place and manner of diſpatching him, as, whether they ſhould not divide into two Parties, and one throwing him over the Bridge, as he took the Voices of the Wards at the Election, in the *Campus Martius*, the other kill him when they had got

got him down, or else assassinate him in his passage along the *Via Sacra*, or at his entrance into the Theatre: At last the Senate being summon'd to meet in *Pompey*'s Court, upon the Ides of *March*, they readily embrac'd that opportunity, as the fairest for time and place that had yet offer'd.

81. But his murder was plainly enough foretold him by several presages: When a few Months before some Colonies transplanted to *Capua*, according to a Law of his own making, were demolishing a great many old Sepulchres, in order to build there, (and were now become more exact in their observations, by reason of some old fashion'd Vessels, and such like pieces of Antiquity found amongst the rubbish) they at last met with a brazen Plate in a Tomb, where *Capys*, the first Founder of *Capua*, was said to be interr'd, with this prophetick Inscription in *Greek*: *When the Bones of* Capys *shall be discover'd, then shall one of the off-spring of* Julius *be assassinated by the hands of his own Relations, and his Blood soon after be severely reveng'd upon* Italy. Which left any man should think an idle romantick Story, I assure him it came originally from *Cornelius Balbus*, one of the most intimate Friends that *Cæsar* had. A few days likewise before his murder, he was very well inform'd, that the Horses he had devoted * to the Gods, and let loose in the Fields, for the service done him in passing his Foot over *Rubicon*, sullenly refrain'd from their Provender, and wept bitterly: As he was at Sacrifice, the *Augur Spurinna* wish'd him to beware of a dangerous accident, that wou'd overtake him yet before the Ides of *March* were expir'd: And the very day before

* *Or, as others interpret it, to the River, they being look'd upon as Deities.*

before the ſame Ides, a promiſcuous Flock of Birds purſu'd the * *Regaliolus*, carrying a Laurel branch in its Bill, from the next neighbouring Grove into *Pompey*'s Court, where they tore it in pieces. The Night before likewiſe, he dream'd of nothing but ſoaring above the Clouds, and ſhaking hands with *Jupiter*: And his Wife *Calpurnia*, ſhe fancied in her ſleep, the top of the Houſe was tumbling down, and her Husband ſtabb'd in her Arms, whereupon her Bed-chamber Doors immediately flew open of their own accord. Upon theſe motives, together with an indiſpoſition of Body he then labour'd under, he thought of adjourning the Senate to another time, till at laſt *D. Brutus* over-perſwading him not to diſmiſs the Houſe, now that it was full, and had attended him a long time; he went to them about Eleven a Clock, and was even then in his way thither, preſented with a diſcovery of the Plot, which he unhappily looking upon as ſome Petitionary Addreſs, mix'd it with ſeveral others in his Left Hand, intimating he would peruſe it with the reſt by and by. In ſhort, when none of all the numerous Victims he Sacrific'd, could propitiate the Gods, he entred the Senate in ſpite of their preſages, laughing at *Spurinna* as a falſe Prophet, for that the Ides of *March* were now come, and no diſaſter had befallen him: To which he replyed, *They were come indeed, but not gone.*

* *The Wren, as 'tis commonly interpreted.*

82. The Conſpirators, under colour of paying him their devoirs, gathering round him, as ſoon as he had taken his place; *Cimber Tullius*, who had undertook the firſt Aſſault, pretending a requeſt to him, made his approaches nearer than the reſt; whom *Cæſar* refuſing to hear then,

then, and ſignifying by his geſtures to him, to defer his buſineſs till another time; he immediately ſeiz'd him by the Gown on both Shoulders; at which he crying out, *this is down right Violence*; one of the *Caſſii* making up to him, ſtab'd him a little below the Throat. *Cæſar* upon this, laying hold of the *Aſſaſſins* Arm, ſtruck it through with his Stile, and endeavouring to make his Eſcape, was hindred by a ſecond Thruſt; and now ſeeing the Ruffians ready to aſſail him on every ſide, with naked Daggers in their Hands, he muffled up his Head in his Gown, and at the ſame time, with his left hand, threw his Robes about his Legs, that being covered all over, he might die with the greater decency. *And thus fell* Cæſar, with three and twenty Wounds in his Body, and without any other Noiſe, than that of a ſingle Groan at the firſt Stab, though ſome indeed have reported he ſhould ſay to *M. Brutus*, as he came upon him, *What*, and *art thou one of them*, *what*, *thou my Son?* The Conſpirators flying, left him dead upon the Place, till at laſt three of his Servants carried him home in a Sedan, with one Arm dangling out. *Antiſtius* the Chyrurgion was of Opinion there was none of all his Wounds Mortal but the ſecond upon his Breaſt. The Traytors had deſigned to have thrown his Carcaſe into the *Tiber*, to have confiſcated his Goods, and repeal'd all his Acts, but durſt not, for fear of *Mark Antony* the Conſul, and *Lepidus* Deputy Dictator.

83. At the Requeſt of *L. Piſo*, his Father in Law, his Will, which he had made in his Country Houſe at *Labicum*, upon the Ides of *September* before, and had committed to the Cuſtody

of

of the Lady Abbeſs of the Veſtal Virgins, was opened and read in *M. Antonies* Houſe; *Q. Tubero* reports, that from the time of his firſt Conſulſhip, to the breaking out of the Civil Wars, he uſed to appoint *Pompey* his Heir, and had ſo declared at the Head of his Army. But in his laſt Will and Teſtament, made three of his Siſters Grand-Sons Coheirs to his Eſtate, of which *Octavius* had nine parts in twelve left him, and *L. Pinarius*, and *Q. Pedius* the other three betwixt them, and had farther at the bottom of his Will, adopted *Octavius* into both his Family and Name. He had deſigned ſeveral of his Murtherers Guardians to his Son, if he ſhould be ſo happy as to leave any behind him; made *D. Brutus* one of his Heirs, upon default of any of the former: and bequeathed his Gardens upon the *Tiber* to the body of the People, beſides three hundred Seſterces a piece.

84. After publick notice given of his Funeral, his Pile was erected in the *Campus Martius*, near his Daughter *Julia*'s Tomb, and a Repoſitory curiouſly gilt, and made after the Model of *Venus*'s Temple, ſet up before the great Roman Oratory. Herein was placed a Bed of Ivory covered with Cloth of Gold and Purple, with a Trophy at his Head, ſupporting the Robe in which he was ſlain; and leſt the formal Proceſſion of that numerous Train, who preſented their Honorary Oblations to the Dead, ſhould lengthen the Solemnity beyond the compaſs of a day, they were commanded to carry them into the Field without any ſet Order, and through what Streets of the City they pleas'd: at the Celebration of his Funeral Rites and Games, there were ſome Verſes taken out of *Pacuvius* his

*The Arms of Achilles pretended to by Ajax and Ulysses.

his Tragedy, Intituled, *The Queſtion of the* * *Arms decided*, ſung, to raiſe the People to a higher note of Pity and Indignation: as this,

Men' Men' ſervaſſe, ut eſſent qui me perderent?

Hard fate, that I thoſe very men forgave,
Who brought me thus untimely to my Grave.

Beſides others of the like Import, out of *Attius* his *Electra*; inſtead of a Funeral Oration, the Conſul *Antony* cauſed a Cryer publickly to proclaim the Act of the Senate, whereby they had decreed him all Divine as well as Humane Honours, as alſo the Oath of Allegiance, by which they had jointly engaged themſelves in the Defence of his Perſon, with ſome additions of his own. The Magiſtrates, and Perſons formerly in Authority, who were his Bearers, carried his Bed of State from before the Oratory into the *Forum*; where whilſt they ſtood in debate about the propereſt place to burn it in, ſome being for the moſt retired and ſacred part of *Jupiter Capitolinus*'s Temple, others for *Pompeys* Court, there ruſh'd in two Fellows amongſt them all on a ſudden, with Swords by their Sides, and each two Javelins in their Hands, who ſet fire to it with their flaming Torches, when immediately the promiſcuous Crowd of Standers-by threw in their dry Wood, and the Seats of both Superior and Inferior Magiſtrates, with the reſt of their Oblations. After this, the Muſicians and Stage-Players ſtrip'd themſelves of the Liveries given them at the Celebration of his Triumphal Games, wore then purely upon occaſion of that days Solemnity, rent them in pieces, and flung them

them into the Flames. Then advanced his Veterane Legions, and with the Arms they put on to grace his Funeral, did the ſame laſt Honour to their General; the very Ladies came and threw in their own and Childrens fine Coats and Ornaments: nay, Foreigners, wherewith the City at that time abounded, ſhared every one in their turns, and after the Faſhion of his Country, in this great and general Lamentation; eſpecially the *Jews*, who frequented the place where he was burnt for ſeveral nights together.

85. As ſoon as the Solemnity was ended, the Rabble ran ſtraight and beſet the Houſes of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* with Firebrands in their Hands; who, being at laſt with great difficulty repulſed, and accidentally meeting with *Helvius Cinna* in their return, ſlew him, and carried his Head about with them in Triumph upon the point of a Spear, miſtaking him for *Cornelius Cinna*, whom they were then in queſt of, for having but the day before bitterly inveighed againſt *Cæſar*. After this, they erected a ſolid Monument of *Numidian* Marble in the Market-place, near twenty foot high, with this Inſcription, *To the Father of his Country*. Where, for a long time after, they uſed to Sacrifice, make Vows, and ſwearing by the name of *Cæſar*, decide certain Controverſies amongſt them.

86. He gave ſome of his Friends occaſion to believe, he deſired to live no longer, being now grown weary of his Life, by reaſon of his frequent Indiſpoſitions, and therefore ſlighted all Preſages of his Death, and Remonſtrances of his Friends. Others are of Opinion, he repoſed ſo great confidence in the Senate, ſince the

* *Mentioned in the former Paragraph.*

laſt Act made, and * Oath took on his behalf, that upon the Credit thereof, he diſmiſſed his Spaniſh Guards, which always attended him arm'd. Others on the contrary affirm, he has been heard to declare, he had rather once fall into the apparent Toils of Death, than live in perpetual fear of them. Others again report, he would often ſay, his Safety was more the intereſt of the State than his own; for his part, he had Power and Honour enough long ago, and that if any unhappy Accident ſhould befal him, the Common-wealth would be imbroil'd in new Troubles, and labour under greater Calamities than ever it did in the time of the Civil Wars.

87. This is generally granted on all hands that his Death was ſuch as he deſired: For having formerly read in *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* in his laſt fit of Sickneſs, gave ſome Orders concerning his Funeral; he expreſſed his Abhorrency of ſuch a lingring Death, wiſhing his might be quick and ſurpriſing; and but the day before, upon occaſion of a Diſcourſe ſtarted at Table in *M. Lepidus* his Houſe, concerning the beſt ſort of Death, he declared for that which was ſudden and unexpected.

88. He died in the fifty ſixth year of his Age, and was not only Canoniz'd for a God by Decree, but really thought ſo by the People; for when his Heir *Auguſtus* firſt exhibited thoſe Games he Conſecrated to his Memory, there aroſe a Comet about five a Clock in the Afternoon, which appeared for a Week together, and was confidently believed by them to be *Cæſar*'s Soul rapt up into Heaven; for which reaſon, there was afterwards a Star plac'd upon the Crown

Crown of his Statue. The Court wherein he was murthered, was ordered to be ſhut up, the Ides of *March* to be branded with the Name of *Parricide*, and the Senate never to ſit upon that day for the future.

89. Scarce any of his Aſſaſſins either ſurviv'd him three years, or died a natural Death: They were all pronounced dead perſons in Law, and Vengeance overtook them in ſundry Accidents; ſome periſhed at Sea, ſome fell in Battle, and others ſtab'd themſelves with the ſame Poniard wherewith they had murthered *Cæſar*.

Sic pereant Regicidæ.

OCTAVIUS AUGUSTUS

THE LIFE OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Morgan* of St. *John's* Coll. *Oxon.*

THAT the *Octavian* Family was of the firſt Conſideration in *Velitræ*, there are ſeveral Monuments which make it very credible: For beſides a Street in the moſt conſpicuous part of the Town call'd by that Name, there is an Altar yet to be ſeen, which was long ago peculiarly conſecrated to the Memory of *Octavius*; who being General in that War which was manag'd againſt thoſe who violated the Confines, as he was ſacrificing to *Mars*, and word was brought him, that the Borderers had made a ſudden Incurſion, he haſtily cut the Entrails of the Victim, and offered them raw to the God of Blood; entred the Battel, and return'd a Conqueror. There is likewiſe a Publick Decree extant, which cautiouſly provided, That the Rites of that God ſhould always be ſo celebra-

ted, and that the Remains of his Sacrifice ſhould be ſent to the *Octavii*, though they were abſent.

2. This Family was adopted into the Privileges of a *Roman* Tribe, and brought into the Senate by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, who was then King; in proceſs of time it became Plebeian, and after many Years had run out, it was rais'd to its firſt Dignity of being Gentlemen of *Rome*, by *D. Julius*. The firſt who obtain'd a Magiſtracy by popular Vote, was *C. Rufus*, who had formerly been Queſtor, and had two Sons, *Cneius* and *Caius*, from whom two Branches of the *Octavian* Family were deriv'd, but with great difference in their Fortune: For *Cneius*, and all who deſcended from him, diſcharg'd the moſt eminent Functions of Truſt in the Government. But *Caius* and his Poſterity, whether it was an Effect of Chance, or induſtriouſly their Choice, never mov'd from the Order of being Knights, even to the Father of *Auguſtus*. His great Grandfather was a Tribune in the Army, in the ſecond Punic War, when *Æmilius Pappus* was *Generaliſſimo*. His Grandfather having a plentiful Eſtate left him, contented himſelf with the Offices that belong'd only to a private Citizen, and ſo died quietly in a good old age: but theſe things others have related. *Auguſtus* himſelf writes, That his Family was no more than purely Equeſtrian, of which his Father was the firſt Senator. But *M. Antony* upbraids him with the baſeneſs of his Original, ſaying, That his great Granfather was a manumitted Slave, by Trade a Rope-ſeller, and born in an obſcure Village amongſt the *Thurini*, and that his Grandfather was a Banker; and nothing more

more hath occurred to my Enquiry concerning the Anceſtors of *Auguſtus*.

3. *Octavius* the Father, even from the beginning, was very rich, and of great reputation; ſo that I very much wonder that ſome report him to be a Money-changer, and others degrade him to that ſordid Employment in the Field of *Mars*, of being one of thoſe who diſtributed Money to the Tribes, and ſo brib'd their Votes for them who ſtood Candidates for any Office; for being us'd to Riches, and bred up in Affluence, he eaſily attain'd to Honours in the State, and he adminiſtred them with as much Credit as he acquired them with Facility. After he was out of his Prætorſhip, and obtain'd *Macedon* for his Province, as he was upon his Journey, he defeated the *Argitine* Rebels, who were all that were left of *Catiline* and *Spartacus*'s Forces, and who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Thurine* Country; he being extraordinarily commiſſion'd to it by the Senate. He manag'd this Charge with no leſs Juſtice than Reſolution: For having overthrown the *Beſſi* and the *Thracians* in a great Battel, he demean'd himſelf ſo obligingly towards the Allies, that there are Letters of *Tullius Cicero* extant, wherein he adviſeth and conjures his Brother *Quintus*, who at the ſame time was Proconſul of *Aſia*, and carried himſelf in that Government much to his diſhonour, that he would put the Sweetneſs of the others Behaviour in gaining the Allies as a Pattern for his Imitation.

4. When he left *Macedon*, before he could declare his Inclinations of ſtanding for the Conſulſhip, he died ſuddenly; and the Children he left behind him, were his eldeſt Daughter *Octavia*,

via, which he had by *Ancharia*; a younger Daughter of the ſame Name, and this *Auguſtus*, who had *Atia* to their Mother. *Atia*'s Father was *M. Atius Balbus*, and her Mother *Sylvia*, who was Siſter to *C. Cæſar*. *Balbus* by the Father's Side was of *Aricia*, and of an honourable Family, as appears by the many Statues of his Anceſtors who were Senators; and by the Mother's, was very nearly related to *Pompey*. After he was Prætor, he was one of the twenty who divided the Land of *Capua* amongſt the Common People, according to the Injunctions of the *Sylvian Law*. But *M. Antony* ſpeaks contemptuouſly of his Birth by the Mother's Side; for he objects to him as a Scandal, That his great Grandfather was originally an *African*; and ſometimes he ſaith his Trade was a Perfumer, and ſometimes, that he kept a Bakehouſe at *Aricia*. *Caſſius Parmenſis*, in one of his Epiſtles, ſaith, That he is the Grandchild not only of a Baker, but a Banker: For after this manner he is ſevere upon him; *Thou art a piece of Dough out of thy Mothers Meal-tub, and a Baker of* Nerulum *rais'd thee into Humane Paſte, with his Fingers all ſullied with telling his Money.*

5. *Auguſtus* was born the ninth of the Calends of *October*, before the Sun was up, in the *Palatine* Quarter of the City, at a place call'd the *Ox-heads*, *M. Tullius Cicero* and *Antonius* being Conſuls, where there is now a little Temple ſtanding, which was built ſome time after his Death. For, as 'tis recorded in the Acts of the Senate, when *C. Lectorius*, a young Man of Patrician Blood, was deprecating the Puniſhment that was to be inflicted upon him for Adultery, after he had urg'd the tenderneſs of his Years,

and

and the Nobility of his Houſe, he alledg'd this particularly to the Senate, to move their Compaſſion and Forgiveneſs, That he was not only the Poſſeſſor, but as it were the Guardian of that Soil which *Auguſtus* firſt ſaluted with his Birth; and therefore entreated that they would ſpare his Life, and beſtow it as a Gratuity upon him, who was his peculiar Deity. Upon this, it was ſolemnly decreed, That that part of the Houſe ſhould be conſecrated.

6. There is a little place yet ſhewn near *Velitræ*, in the ancient Suburbs, of no bigger Capacity than an ordinary Stove-room, where he firſt ſuck'd his Nurſe; and a ſtrong Opinion obtains amongſt the Neighbourhood, that he was born there too. The Entrance into it is moſt religiouſly forbid, unleſs upon a great neceſſity, and with very pious Intentions; for there is an ancient Tradition, That thoſe who attempt it raſhly, are ſeiz'd with a ſudden Horror and Conſternation, which was confirm'd afterwards by a very ſenſible Event: For when the new Landlord of the *Villa* went to lie there, whether he did it purely by Accident, or out of Curioſity, to try an Experiment, ſome few Hours of the Night had not paſs'd, before he was diſturb'd out of his Sleep by violent Shocks, and which he knew not from whence they came, and the next Morning was found half dead, before the Doors of the Houſe, with his Bed lying by him.

7. They gave him the Sirname of *Thurinus* whilſt he was an Infant, either in remembrance of the Original of his Anceſtors, or that in the *Thurine* Country his Father *Octavius* was proſperous in his Expedition againſt the Fugitives, he being

being juſt born. The certain Proof I have that this was his Appellation, is a little Picture of his, caſt in Braſs when he was a Boy; which is an old Piece, and hath this Name inſcrib'd upon it in Letters that are very ruſty, and almoſt eaten away by time. I made a Preſent of this Relick to my Prince, who preſerves it devoutly in his Bed-chamber amongſt his darling Images. But in the Epiſtles of *Antony* he is call'd *Thurinus* by way of reproach, and he retorts nothing to the ſuppos'd Abuſe, but only this, That he wonders that ſhould be thrown upon him as an Aſperſion, which was his firſt and true Name. He afterwards aſſum'd the Title of *Cæſar*, and then of *Auguſtus*; the firſt bequeath'd to him by the Will of his great Uncle, the other he took out of deference to the Judgment of *Munatius Plancus*. For whilſt ſome were of opinion that he ought to be call'd *Romulus*, as if he too was the Founder of the City; *Plancus* contended, and at laſt prevail'd, that it ſhould be *Auguſtus*, as not only a new, but a more magnificent Title: For that all Places which are Religious, and wherein any thing is conſecrated by Augury, are call'd Auguſt; either that there is ſome ſecret Omen of Good ever in the Word, which ſignifies Encreaſe; or that its Etymology is taken from the Feeding and Flight of Birds, as they manage themſelves in the Air; for ſo *Ennius* teacheth us, writing after this manner:

Rome *now unto a glorious Pile does riſe,*
With its Foundations laid in Auguries.

8. He loſt his Father when he was four years old,

old, and at twelve years of age he prais'd his Mother *Julia* in a Funeral Oration. Four years after, when he was ſixteen, a year before 'tis uſual, he put on the Virile Garment, which ſhew'd that he was out of his Childhood; and then *Cæſar* beſtow'd Gifts upon him in his *African* Triumph, though he was not hardned for the Exploits of War, by reaſon of the tenderneſs of his Age. Afterwards, when his Uncle went into *Spain* againſt *Pompey*'s Children, being not firmly recover'd from a great Sickneſs, yet he follow'd him with a very ſlender Retinue, though the Ways were beſet with the Enemy, and he ſuffered Shipwrack. By this occaſion he very much gain'd *Cæſar*; for beſides his Reſolution to undertake, and quickneſs in diſpatching the Journey, he gave manifeſt Preſages of a great Genius. *Cæſar*, after *Spain* had ſubmitted, deſigning an Expedition againſt the *Daci*, and then the *Parthians*, ſent him before to *Apollonia*, that he might be at leiſure to follow his Studies. When he heard that *Cæſar* was murder'd, and knew himſelf to be his Heir, he was long conteſting in his thoughts, whether he ſhould ſollicit the Aid of thoſe Legions which were neareſt him; but at laſt he rejected this Counſel as raſh and very unſeaſonable. When he came to *Rome*, he put in his Legal Claim to the Inheritance, though his Mother was wavering in her Reſolutions about it, and his Father-in-Law *Marcus Philippus*, who had been Conſul, poſitively diſſwaded him from that Attempt. And from that time, having gather'd his Forces together, he govern'd the Commonwealth, firſt with *M. Antony* and *M. Lepidus*, then with *M. Antony* ſingle, for the

ſpace

ſpace almoſt of twelve years; and then by himſelf, without both his Colleagues, forty four.

9. Having deſign'd to write the Memoires of his Life, I will not confine my ſelf to ſtrict Chronology, but will rather deſcribe what were his Actions, than be punctual to the time when they were done, that ſo the Nature of them may be the more clearly underſtood. He manag'd five Civil Wars, that of *Modena*, the other of *Philippæ*, that of *Perſia*, the *Sicilian* one, and that of *Actium*; the firſt and laſt of which were againſt *Antony*, the ſecond was againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, the third againſt *L. Antonius*, the Son of him who was of the Triumvirate, and the fourth againſt *Sextus Pompeius* the Son of *Cneius*.

10. The Cauſe which began and fomented all his Wars, was to revenge the Death of his Uncle, and juſtifie his Actions; for he thought nothing more became him, nor conduc'd more to his Purpoſes. As ſoon as he return'd from *Apollonia*, he had a deſign to have ſet upon *Brutus* and *Caſſius* unawares, and have ſeiz'd them by main force; but being ſenſible that they foreſaw the danger, and avoided it, he chang'd his Meaſures, and reſolv'd to attack them by Judicial Proceſs, accuſing them as guilty of Murder, and ſo proſcribe them abſent. Thoſe Games likewiſe which were inſtituted to celebrate the Remembrance of *Cæſar*'s Victory in the *Pharſalian* Fields, when thoſe whoſe Charge it was, had not the Courage to exhibit them, he himſelf did it. And that he might with the better aſſurance proſecute his Deſigns, the Tribune of the People being lately dead, he ſhew'd himſelf a Candidate for the Place, though

though he was a *Patrician*, and not yet a Senator, which was a prævious Qualification. But *M. Antony* the Conſul obſtructing his Pretenſions, upon whoſe Intereſt and Aſſiſtance he chiefly depended in this Promotion, and not doing him that publick and common Right without an under-hand Bargain, for a very great Reward, he ſided with the Nobility, to whom he knew *Antony* was very odious upon this account, that when *Brutus* was beſieg'd at *Modena*, he endeavour'd by force of Arms to turn him out of a Province that was given him by *Cæſar*, and confirm'd to him by the Senate; therefore inſtigated by the deſperate Advice which ſome whiſper'd him, he hir'd *Bravoes* to aſſaſſinate the Conſul. But his Treachery being diſcover'd, and fearing that himſelf might be ſtabb'd after the ſame manner, he call'd in the Veterane Soldiers to aid him, and ſuccour the Commonwealth, and bribed them to it with very great Largeſſes. Being commanded to ſupply the Office of the Prætor, in leading the Army that was levied, and with *Hirtius* and *Panſa* that were Conſuls, to relieve *Brutus*; He diſpatch'd the War committed to him in three Months time, at two Battels; in the firſt, *Antony* writes an Account, that he fled and diſappear'd for two days, having loſt his Horſe and his Generals Robe; but in the latter 'tis manifeſt, that he not only diſcharg'd the Functions of a great Commander, but fought like a Common Soldier, and in the hotteſt of the Action, when the Standard-bearer of his Legion was grievouſly wounded, he mounted the *Roman* Eagle upon his Shoulders, and carried it for a long time.

11. Both

11. Both the Conſuls periſhing in this War, *Hirtius* in the Field, and *Panſa* a little while after of the Wounds he receiv'd there, a Rumor grew very ſtrong, that they were both ſlain by his means; that *Antony* being put to flight, and the Commonwealth being robb'd of their Conſuls, he alone might have a victorious Army at his Devotion. The Death of *Panſa* was ſo ſuſpected, that *Glyco* the Phyſician was taken into cloſe Cuſtody, there being a great Jealouſie againſt him, that he poyſon'd the Wound. *Aquilius Niger* adds his Remarque, That the other Conſul *Hirtius* was kill'd by *Auguſtus* his own Hands in the Heat of the Fight.

12. But as ſoon as he underſtood that *Antony*, after he made his Eſcape, was receiv'd and careſs'd by *Lepidus*, and that the reſt of the Commanders and the whole Army declar'd for the Senate, he forſook the Cauſe of the Nobility, which he had eſpous'd, without farther delay. And to palliate his Defection with ſome plauſible Colour, he blam'd ſome who ſpoke and acted things to his diſgrace; as that they ſhould call him a Child; and that they publickly declar'd, That he was to be adorn'd, and then ſacrific'd; by this means to defraud him of the Merit of his own Performances, and the old Soldiers of the Rewards due to them for theirs. That he might make his Regret for having addicted himſelf to that Party the more conſpicuous, he condemned the *Nurſini* in a great pecuniary Mulct; and it being more than they could pay, he baniſh'd them out of the City. The Crime objected to them was, That at the Slaughter of *Modena*, they put this Inſcription upon the Tombs of thoſe Citizens that were ſlain,

ſlain, *That they died Martyrs for the Liberty of their Country.*

13. Entring into a Confederacy with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, he put out the War of *Philippæ* with the Blood of two Battles, though he was ſickly and very infirm. In the firſt, he loſt all his Tents, and had much ado to recover the Wing, which *Anthony* commanded: However obtaining the Victory, the Succeſs of it ſo tranſported him beyond all the bounds of moderation, that he not only ſent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome*, to be thrown at the Feet of *Cæſar*'s Statue, but he ſcourg'd every Captive, though he was of an Illuſtrious Condition, and added Contumelies to his Blows. His Cruelty burned to that height, that when one humbly deſired that he might be buried after he was kill'd, he is ſaid to have returned him this Anſwer, *That the Birds of Prey could only indulge him this Favour.* At another time, when a Father and Son begged for their Lives, he commanded them either to caſt Lots, or fight it out, that ſo one of them might be ſaved, whilſt he the while fed his Eyes with the Spectacle of their Deaths: For the Father firſt offering himſelf to Fate, he being ſlain, the Son would not ſurvive him, but died a voluntary Death. Wherefore when the reſt, and amongſt them *M. Favonius*, he who ſtudied ſo much to be like *Cato*, were brought forth to their Execution bound in Chains; after they had ſaluted *Anthony* their General with a low Reverence, they curs'd him with bitter Reproaches to his Face. Conſequent to this Victory, ſharing the Commands betwixt them, when *Anthony* took the Charge of looking after the Eaſt, the Province he choſe, was to bring the old Soldiers

back into *Italy*, and settle them in those Municipal Lands which were assigned them; but by his Conduct of the Business, he provoked the Resentments of both Parties upon himself; for the Country complained that they were forcibly thrust out of their Possessions to admit new Colonies; and the *Veteranes* murmured, that their being so disposed of, was not what they expected, nor equal to their Deservings.

14. At this time, *L. Antonius*, presuming upon his then being Consul, and the Power of his Brother, was raising Commotions in the State; but he compelled the raw Aggressor to fly to *Perusia*, and there starv'd him to a Surrender, though not without running great personal Risques, both before and after the War. For when at the publick Games, a common Soldier was got into the Knights Gallery (which consisted of fourteen rows of Seats) and he sent the Marshal of the Theater to remove him; a Report presently grew warm, by those who calumniated the Proceedings, that the Man was taken away and tortured to Death; so it wanted very little, but that he had perished by the Indignation and Concourse of the Soldiers, who began to be very mutinous. That which preserved him, was, the Person who was missing appeared again very safe, and without having any injury done unto him. As he was sacrificing too before the Walls of *Perusia*, he was almost intercepted by a Band of *Gladiators*, who made a desperate Sally out of the Town.

15. When *Perusia* was taken, he was very severe upon a great many of those who were taken Prisoners; and when they were begging Mercy,

Mercy, and endeavouring to excuſe themſelves, he obviated their Supplications and Apologies with this peremptory Reſolution, *That they muſt die.* Some write that he cull'd out three hundred of thoſe who ſurrendered themſelves of either Order, and cut their Throats like Victims upon the Altar, that was conſecrated to the Memory of *Julius Cæſar*; and in the Ides of *March*, the time when he was ſlain. There are thoſe, who report that he took up Arms upon deſign that his concealed Enemies, whom fear reſtrained more than good Inclinations or Duty; *Anthony* ſo opportunely offering to head them, might then ſhew themſelves unmaſqued; that ſo making an entire Conqueſt of them both, he might reward his old Soldiers with their confiſcated Eſtates, as Recompences he had long promiſed them.

16. The War he firſt began, was the *Sicilian*, but it was of a long continuance, it receiving many Interruptions; for his Navy was ſhattered by the Tempeſt of two Shipwracks, ſo that it conſum'd ſome time, to have them repaired, and then he was forced to precipitate a Peace at the importunity of the People, who began to ſuffer, by reaſon all the Paſſages were ſtopp'd up, and Famine encreaſed upon them to the laſt degree of Hunger. But at laſt equipping out anew, and manumitting twenty thouſand Slaves, that they might ſerve at the Oar; he built the *Julian* Port at *Baiæ*, whereby he joined the *Lucrine* Lake, and that of *Avernus* with the Sea. Here, when he had exerciſed his Mariners and Soldiers for a whole Winter, he defeated *Pompey* betwixt *Mulæ* and *Naulochum*: But at the very Houſe, when he was to fight, he

was ſurpriſed with ſuch a profound Sleep, that ſome of his Friends were fain to awake him, that he might give the Signal to fall on. Which in my opinion gave the occaſion to that Sarcaſm of *Anthony*: *That his Eyes were not ſteady nor valiant enough to behold the Enemies Forces; but that he lay in a Lethargick Fit of Cowardice, contemplating the Sky, and would not ariſe, nor ſhew himſelf to his Soldiers, till the adverſe Fleet was diſperſed, and beaten by* Agrippa. Others not only blame his Actions, but inveigh againſt expreſſing himſelf ſo haughtily, that when he loſt his Ships by Storm, he cryed out in a Bravade, *That he would be a Conqueror in ſpight of* Neptune. And to juſtifie his Contempt of that Deity, in the very next Games that were pompouſly celebrated in the Cirque, he excluded his Image from the Solemnity. His raſhneſs never expoſed him to greater or more dangers than in this War: for having landed ſome part of his Army on the *Sicilian* Shore, and ſailing back to fetch the reſt, he was unexpectedly ſet upon by *Democharis* and *Apollophanes*, two of *Pompey*'s Commanders, and ſo ſoundly beaten, that he had much ado to eſcape only with one Sail. Another time he ran a great hazard through miſtake; for going by *Locris* to *Regium* on foot, and ſeeing ſome of *Pompey*'s Galleys cruiſing by the ſhoar, he thinking them to be ſome of his own, walked gently towards the Shoar, and was almoſt taken by them. And then too, making his Eſcape through bye and unfrequented Ways, he met with a Servant of *Æmilius Paulus* his intimate Companion, who reſenting that his Maſters Father was formerly proſcribed by him, and ſeeing a fair opportu-

nity

nity to be revenged, he endeavoured to kill him. After *Pompey* was put to flight, *M. Lepidus*, one of his Colleagues, whom he ſollicited out of *Africk* to his Succour, grew inſolent upon his having twenty Legions, and endeavoured to acquire abſolute Dominion, by Threatnings, and making himſelf terrible. But he cruſhed him in his firſt Ambition, and deprived him of the Command of the Army. And when he begged his Life, he granted it; but baniſhed him for ever to *Circæi*.

17. His agreement with *Anthony* was very uncertain and inſecure: But at laſt he utterly broke the Correſpondence which was patched up with ſo many falſe Reconciliations. And that he might expoſe him as one who had degenerated from the Cuſtoms of a good Citizen, he cauſed his Will which he had left behind him at *Rome*, to be opened and publickly read; wherein he expreſly named *Cleopatra*'s Children amongſt the reſt of his Heirs. But he was ſo tender, that he would not violate the Obligations of Intimacy, but ſent him back all his Friends and Adherents, though he was his declared Enemy; amongſt whom were *C. Soſius* and *T. Domitius*, who were then Conſuls: At thoſe of *Bononia*, becauſe they were anciently under the Protection of *Anthony*, as his partial Clients, he graciouſly connived, though they formed Parties, and conſpired with all *Italy* to eſpouſe his Quarrel. And not long after, he overcame him at *Actium* in a Sea-fight, which held out till it was very late, and then ſlept a Conqueror on Shipboard. When he left *Actium*, and came to the Iſland of *Samos* to take up his Winter-Quarters; he had Expreſſes arrived to him, which

gave him an account, that those Soldiers which he had selected as the flower of his Army, after the dispatch of this Naval Victory, and sent before to *Brundusium*, mutinied for Pay, and required to be dismist. This obliged him to return to *Italy*, though he met with two Storms in his way: the first was between the Promontories of *Peloponnesus* and *Ætolia*, and the other above the *Ceraunian* Mountains. In both of them, part of his *Liburnick* Gallies were sunk, and that wherein he sailed himself, received particular damage; for the Tackling and Cordage were shattered, and Rudder broke. He tarried no longer at *Brundusium* than he could satisfie the Demands of the Soldiers, which was twenty seven days, and then making a toure round about *Asia* and *Syria*, he came to *Ægypt*, and here laying Siege to *Alexandria*, whither *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* had fled for Refuge, he made himself Master of it in a short time. He subdued *Anthony* to that despair, that after he had sued for conditions of Peace, when it was too late, he made him kill himself, and insulted over him when he was dead. He had a desire to have reserved *Cleopatra* as a Captive, to adorn his Triumph; therefore he sent for the *Psylli*, a People whose Faculty and Employment it is, to suck out Poyson, and made them apply themselves to her Wounds; to see if they could draw forth that Venom which her Asps had infused there, and which was thought the occasion of her Death. He did them that Favour as to let them be buried together, and ordered that Monument to be finished which was begun by themselves. Young *Anthony*, who was the elder of the two Sons he had by *Fulvia*, fled to the Statue

Statue of *J. Cæſar*, where he made paſſionate intreaties for his Life, but all in vain; for he ſnatch'd him from his Sanctuary and kill'd him. He inflicted the ſame Puniſhment upon *Cæſario*, whom *Cleopatra* affirm'd ſhe had by *Julius*, whom he ſeretted out of the Retreat, where he went to hide himſelf: The reſt of the Children which *Anthony* had by this Queen, he had that paſſionate regard for, as if they had been nearly related to him, and afterwards promoted each of them according to their Quality and Deſert.

18. At the ſame time, when the Coffin and Body of *Alexander* was brought out of the Vault, that he might ſee it; putting a Crown of Gold upon its Head, and making it fragrant with Flowers, he ador'd the Imperial Carcaſs. And being asked if *Ptolemy* too would be an agreeable Spectacle; he repli'd, *that he would ſee one who was truly a King, and not thoſe who were diſſolv'd in Luxury, whilſt living, and were really dead, having no Memory to ſurvive them.* After he had reduc'd *Ægypt* into the form of a Province, that he might improve the Soil to a greater fertility for ſupplying the City with Corn, he employ'd his Soldiers to cleanſe all the Ditches, in which *Nile* was to overflow, which for a long time had been choaked up with Mud. That he might tranſmit his Conqueſt at *Actium*, in a celebrated Remembrance to Poſterity, he built a City there, which he called *Nicopolis*, the City of Victory. He inſtituted Games likewiſe to be kept every fifth year, and enlarging the Temple of *Apollo*, he conſecrated the place where he pitch'd his Camp to *Mars* and *Neptune*, and hung it round with Naval Spoils.

19. After this, he put out the firſt ſparks of any commotion when they began to kindle; and many Conſpiracies, before they could come to any height or conſiſtence, he found out and ſuppreſs'd, and this at different times. The firſt that deſigned againſt him, was young *Lepidus*, then *Varro*, *Murena* and *Fannius Cæpio*. After them, *M. Egnatius*, then *Plautius Rufus*, and *Lucius Paulus*, who married his Grand-daughter. Beſides theſe, was *L. Audaſius*, a Forger of Wills, who was decrepid and full of Diſeaſes, and *Aſinius Epicadius*, who was a ſort of a Mongril, having Father and Mother of two different Extractions, being deſcended of the *Parthines*. And to cloſe up the Plotters, at laſt came *Telephus*, who ſerv'd a Lady, and might be call'd the Maſter of her Complaiſance; for his Office was to attend her, and tell her the Names of thoſe who paſs'd by, that ſhe might ſalute them; ſo that his Life was in danger from thoſe even of the baſeſt condition. The deſign of *Audaſius* and *Epicadius*, was to ſeize upon *Julia* his Daughter, and *Agrippa* his Grandſon, in the Iſlands where they were confined, and ſo have carried them away to the Army. *Telephus*, as if he thought the Empire was originally due to him from the Gods, reſolved to ſet upon him and all the Senate. Beſides, one night there was a Scullion which belong'd to the *Illyrian* Army, taken near his Bed-chamber, arm'd with an Hunts-mans Dagger, who had deceiv'd the Guards. But whether he was mad really, or only counterfeited diſtraction, was very uncertain, for nothing could be got out of him by Torture.

20. He manag'd only two Foreign Wars in his own perſon; the one was the *Dalmatian*, when

when he was very young; and the other after the Defeat of *Anthony*, was that of *Calabria*. In that of *Dalmatia* he receiv'd ſeveral Wounds; for in one Battel he was hurt upon the right Knee with a Stone; and in another, he had his Thigh broken, and both his Arms. The reſt of his Wars he left to the Conduct of his Lieutenant Generals: but that he might be actually preſent at, or not far from thoſe which were carried on in *Pannonia* and *Germany*, he went as far from *Rome* as *Ravenna*, *Milan*, or *Aquileia*.

21. But he conquer'd *Cantabria*, *Aquitaine*, *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, with all *Illyrium*, partly by his own Conduct and Appearance, and partly by the auſpicious Influence of his Fame and Genius when he was abſent. He likewiſe overcame *Rhætia*, the *Vindilieians*, and the *Salaſſians*, which are people within the *Alps*. He reſtrain'd the Incurſions of the *Daci*, ſlaying three of their Generals with a great Army; and the *Germans* he forc'd to remove beyond the *Elbe*. But the *Suevi* and *Sicambri*, who voluntarily yielded themſelves, he tranſplanted into *Gaul*, and ſetled upon the Banks of the *Rhine*. Other Nations which began to be Male-contented, and made ſhew of Riſing, he curb'd into Obedience, and never was the Aggreſſor in any War, but upon juſt and neceſſary Reaſons: And he was ſo far from the Ambition of enlarging Empire, and acquiring renown by the Exploits of Arms, that he made ſome barbarous Princes ſwear in the Temple of *Mars* the Revenger, that they would religiouſly obſerve that Peace which they had begg'd at his Hands. Of ſome he demanded Women, which were new Pledges of their Fidelity,

Fidelity, becauſe he ſaw they neglected their Male-Hoſtages; but he always gave them leave to fetch them back when they would. Thoſe who rebell'd, though they did never ſo often, or never ſo perfidiouſly, he animadverted upon them with no ſeverer a Puniſhment, than that he might ſell them Priſoners, with this Condition, that they ſhould not ſerve in the adjacent Country, nor be made free till after thirty years: So that by the report of his Virtue and Moderation, he endeared himſelf to the *Scythians*, and *Indians*, though he was only known to them by Fame, and they ſent Embaſſadors on purpoſe to ſollicit his Friendſhip. The *Parthians*, when he demanded *Armenia*, readily yielded it up to him, and thoſe Enſigns of War they had taken from *Craſſus* and *M. Anthony*, they reſtored at his Requeſt. Beſides, they offer'd Hoſtages of aſſurance, that when there were many Competitors for the Kingdom, he only ſhould be choſe, who was qualified with his Approbation. The Temple of *Janus Quirinus*, which had been ſhut up twice ſince the Foundation of the City, he ſhut up thrice, having procured Peace both by Sea and Land, and that in a leſs compaſs of time. He twice entred *Rome* in Ovation, a petty ſort of Triumph, which was after the *Philippick* and *Sicilian* Wars; and three he had of the firſt Honour, wherein he was carried in the Curule-Chair, which were after the Wars of *Dalmatia*, *Actium*, and *Alexandria*; they all laſted three days.

22. He received but two ſhameful Defeats, and no where but in *Germany*, which were under *Lollius* and *Varus*. The firſt was rather more infamous than prejudicial, but the latter brought him

him almoſt to the precipice of his Ruine: for he loſt three Legions with their Commanders in Chief, his Lieutenant-Generals, and all the Auxiliaries, which periſhed in the Slaughter. When he heard the News, he ordered ſtrict Watch to be kept in the City, to prevent any Inſurrection of the People, and lengthened out his Commiſſions to the Governours of the Provinces, that the Allies might be reſtrained within their Duty, by thoſe who were verſed in their Cuſtoms, and to whoſe Command they were uſed. He made a Vow, that he would inſtitute magnificent Games to Almighty *ove*, if he would change the Fortune of the Commonwealth for the better; which Reſolutions were likewiſe made in the *Cimbrian* and *Marſian* Wars. They report him ſo aſtoniſh'd with the ſence of this Diſaſter, that for ſeveral Months he let his Hair and Beard grow to a ſordid length, and that he would run his Head againſt the Doors, paſſionately exclaiming, *Quintilius Varus, reſtore me my Legions*; and he obſerv'd the day of this Overthrow as a mournful Anniverſary.

23. As to Military Affairs, he reform'd ſome Abuſes in them; and as to others, he made new Orders, and brought things back to their ancient Uſages. In the Diſcipline of War he was very ſevere, and would not give leave to any of his Lieutenant-Generals to viſit their Wives, but with regret, and that only ſome Months in the Winter. When a Roman Knight cut off the Thumbs of two of his Sons, that they might thereby be made incapable to take the Oath of a Soldier, he expoſed him to Sale, and confiſcated his Goods; but when he ſaw the *Publicans* greedy at the Purchaſe, who would have bought him

him with a design to release him, he gave him to his Manumitted Slave, that he might be sent down into the Country to live free. He dismiss'd the tenth Legion, when they grew refractory to his Commands very shamefully, and others, when they sawcily demanded to be sent home, he disbanded them without the Supernumerary Rewards, which are given to those who at such an Age are of course exempted from the Wars. If any of the Regiments gave ground, he decimated them, and fed them with Barley. The Centurions, as likewise the Standard-Bearers, if they forsook their Stations, he punish'd them with Death. According to the quality of other Offences, he inflicted suitable Disgraces; as sometimes he would have them to stand a whole day before the Generals Pavilion; sometimes with Jackets on and ungirt, which were Marks of Ignominy amongst them; and sometimes with Poles of ten foot long in their Hands, or holding Turfs of Earth.

24. After the Civil Wars, neither in his Harangu's or Edicts, did he call those of his Army Fellow-Soldiers, but only plain Soldiers: Nor would he suffer any other Appellation to be used, either by his own Sons, or those of his Lady, when they were in Command, thinking it an Affectation of Applause, which was not either consistent with Military Discipline, the Quiet of the Times, his own Greatness, or the Majesty of his House. He made use of those Soldiers which consisted of Slaves made free upon twice only, in case of sudden Fires, or if the People grew tumultuous upon the scarcity of Bread. Once he employ'd them for the safety of those Colonies which confine upon *Illyricum*, and

and another time to defend the Banks of the *Rhine*. If any Men or Ladies were more remarkably rich, he laid his Injunctions upon them, that they ſhould ſend their Servants, each according to his Ability; and having freed them from Servitude, he rang'd them under the firſt Standard; but he would not debaſe thoſe who were born free, with their mixture; nor were they arm'd after the ſame manner. His Military Preſents conſiſted in Trappings and Collars of Silver and Gold, which were precious for their Value, rather than he would give Crowns for ſtorming Trenches, or ſcaling Walls, in which more Honour was conferr'd. Theſe he was very ſparing of, and when he did beſtow them, it was with ſuch an equal diſtribution, that he gave them often to the common and meaneſt Soldiers. He preſented *M. Agrippa* in *Sicily*, after a Naval Fight, with a Standard that reſembled the deep Waters of the Sea, a Colour analagous to his Victory. The perſons whom he excepted from this Liberality, were thoſe who had triumph'd themſelves: for though they had been the Companions of his Expeditions, and ſhared in his Conqueſts, yet he thought ſuch Gifts unworthy of them, becauſe they had the ſame privilege of obliging whom they pleas'd with the like. It was his Opinion, that nothing was ſo unbecoming a compleat Commander as raſhneſs, and making too much ſpeed; therefore this Sentence was often in his Mouth.

Σπεῦδε βραδέως,
Ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ ἐς' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης.

Upon

Upon thy actions thankfulneſs beſtow,
Run leiſurely, and let thy haſte be ſlow.
He's ſafe that goes upon a cautious ground;
The raſh their Projects always do confound.

He was utterly againſt undertaking any War, or fighting a Battel, unleſs there was a greater hope and proſpect of Gain, than an apprehenſion of Loſs. For he ſaid, *Thoſe who purſue little Advantages with great hazard, were like to them who fiſh with a golden Hook, where the breaking of the Line occaſioning its loſs, it could not be recompenc'd with all the Fiſh they could take.*

25. Magiſtracies and Honours in the Government, he arriv'd to before the uſual time; and ſome were of a new Nature and perpetual. The Conſulſhip he invaded when he was twenty years old; for he brought his Legions in hoſtile manner to the City, and ſent thoſe who demanded it in the Name of the Army for him. And when the Fathers of the Senate ſtagger'd in their Opinions, *Cornelius Centurio*, who was chief in the Deputation, pulling back his Robe, ſhewed the Hilt of his Sword, and had the confidence to ſpeak after this manner in full Aſſembly: *If you will not make him Conſul, this ſhall.* He bore his ſecond Conſulſhip nine years after the firſt, but with the interval of one year, he had his third; the reſt he continued ſucceſſively down to the eleventh; and afterwards refuſing many that were offered him for a great while, even for the ſpace of ſeventeen years together, he ſtood Candidate for the Twelfth, and two years after for the Thirteenth. And this he did, that being in ſo conſpicuous a Function,

he

he might bring his Sons *Caius* and *Lucius*, after they had pass'd through their previous Mootings, to plead at the Bar. His five intermediate Consulships from the sixth to the eleventh, he bore a whole year; but the other six only for nine, six, four, or three Months, and the second only for some few hours: for on the Calends of *January*, in the Morning, when he had sate in the Ivory Chair, before the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he renounc'd the temporary Honours, and substituted another in his place. Nor did he sustain all these Consulships at *Rome*, but the fourth in *Asia*, the fifth in the Island *Samos*, and he was inaugurated into the eighth and ninth at *Tarracone Jova*.

16. For the better regulating the Commonwealth, he manag'd the Triumvirate ten years; in it he had first oppos'd his Colleagues, that there might be no Proscription; but when it was begun, he exercis'd it with more cruelty than either of them: For whilst they were exorable to the entreaties of several persons, and were softned by importunity, he only remain'd obstinate, that none of them should be spared. He proscribed *C. Toranius*, though he was his Tutor, and Partner with his Father *Octavius* in the Ædileship. *Junius Saturninus* delivers this farther, That when the Proscription was over, *M. Lepidus* made Apologies for what was done in the Senate, and gave them hopes of his being more mild for the future; because Punishment enough had been exacted, he on the contrary declar'd, that the measures of Proscription ought to be stated, that all things might be left free to him to do what he would. But this was a perverseness he afterwards repented of, and

to

to ſhew he relented, he honour'd *Vinius Philopæmenes* with the Dignity of a Knight, becauſe it was ſaid that he conceal'd his Patron when he was proſcribed. He made this Office very invidious, and procur'd himſelf much hatred by it: For when he was making an Harangue, he obſerv'd, that *Pinarius* a Roman Knight, writ down the Minutes of what he ſaid; the Townſmen mixing themſelves with the Soldiers, he eſteeming it a piece of impudent Curioſity, and taking him for a Spy, caus'd him to be kill'd in his preſence. And *Tedius Afer*, who was deſign'd Conſul, becauſe he was bitter in his Reflections upon ſomething that he did, he terrified with ſuch Menaces, that he made him throw himſelf from a Precipice. *Q. Gellius* too, that was *Prætor*, when he came to ſalute him according to Cuſtom in the Morning, and carrying a pair of double writing Tables under his Garment, he thinking it to be a Stilettoe, and not having the Courage to enquire, though he might have been diſabuſed in the Search, he ordered his Centurions and Soldiers to take him from the Tribunal, and then tortur'd him like a Slave: And when all the Convulſions of the Rack could not extort a Confeſſion from him, he commanded him to be kill'd, after having firſt plucked out his Eyes with his own Hand. But he, to palliate this Inhumanity, writes that this *Gellius* was to poignard him when he had gain'd a familiar Acceſs to his Perſon; that upon this he caſt him into Priſon, and baniſh'd him afterwards the City, with an Interdict upon him never to return, and that he either periſh'd by Shipwrack, or fell amongſt an Ambuſcade of Thieves. He took the Office of Tribune upon him,

him, and made it perpetual; but twice in the ſpace of five years he admitted a Colleague. He aſſumed likewiſe the Regulation of Manners and Laws, though he was not dignified with the formal Authority of *Cenſor*, yet he thrice taxed the People, and made that Office of the ſame duration, the firſt and third time with a Colleague, and the ſecond time by himſelf.

27. He had thoughts twice of reſigning up the Government of the Commonwealth; the firſt time was after *Antony* was ſubdu'd, calling to mind what had been ſo often objected to him, that it was his fault only that it was not done; and then his daily Crazineſs making all Honours uneaſie to him, he aſſembling the Magiſtrates and Senate in his Houſe, deliver'd them up the Regiſter of the Empire, wherein all things were put down relating to its Concerns, written with his own Hand: But then conſidering with himſelf, that it was hazardous for him to be leſſen'd to a private Condition, and Raſhneſs to abandon the Government to the Will of many, he perſiſted in his firſt Reſolution of retaining it himſelf. But 'tis uncertain whether the Event was more proſperous, or the original Deſign. As he was very often bragging of this Intention, ſo he gave a Teſtimony of it by theſe Words of an Edict; *I wiſh I could ſo aſſure the Safety of* Rome, *as to keep it in its right Poſition, that ſo I might reap that Fruit out of the Inſtitution which I deſire, and be ſtil'd the Author of the beſt ſort of Government, and when I die, I may carry this Hope along with me, that it will ſtill continue firm upon that Baſis which I have laid for it.* And he made himſelf Maſter of his Deſire; for he endeavour'd al-

ways that no body ſhould repent of admitting ſo profitable an Innovation.

28. The City, which was not adorn'd ſuitable to the Grandeur of the Empire, and was beſides ſubject to Fires, and the Inundations of the *Tyber*, he ſo beautified, that he might juſtly boaſt of leaving *Rome polite with Marble, which he found made of Brick.* And he tranſmitted it to Poſterity in as ſafe a Condition as could poſſibly be contriv'd for by Humane Providence. He built likewiſe a great many Publick Works; but thoſe which carry'd the Preheminence from the reſt, were the Court of Judicature, with the Temple of *Mars* the Revenger, the Temple of *Apollo* in the *Palatine* Quarter, and that of *Jove* the Thunderer in the Capitol. The Motive that induc'd him to build the *Forum*, was the great Concourſe of Clients, and multiplicity of Law-Suits, ſo that two were not of capacity to contain ſo great a number, and be the Scene of ſo much Buſineſs, but that there wanted a third; therefore with a quick diſpatch, before the Temple of *Mars* was compleated, he decreed, That all publick Deciſions, and chuſing of Judges by Ballotting, ſhould be there ſeparately perform'd; he made a Vow to erect a Temple to *Mars* at the Battel of *Philippæ*, which he fought to revenge the Death of his Father; he likewiſe commanded, that all the Meaſures relating to War and Triumphs ſhould be here concerted; that thoſe who had the Supreme Authority over Provinces and Armies, ſhould be attended with a Train from hence, and when they return'd Conquerors, ſhould here hang up the Trophies of their Victories. The Temple of *Apollo* he built in that

that part of the Palatine Quarter which was ruin'd by Thunder, and therefore the South-sayers declar'd, that the Gods expected that it should be re-edified; he likewise made an addition of a Portico, with a Library richly furnish'd with *Greek* and *Latin* Books. In this place, when Years were advancing upon him, he often held his Senate, and revis'd the several Divisions of his Judges; he consecrated a Temple to *Jove* the Thunderer, to celebrate an Escape from a Danger which was somewhat signal; for when he was upon an Expedition in *Cantabria*, and travelling by night, a Flash of Lightning struck against his Litter, and kill'd the Servant which carried the Flambeau. Several Works he built, and disguis'd the Benefactors under other Persons Names, as of his Wife, his Sister, and his Grandchildren; the Instances of it were the *Portico* and Royal Building of *Lucius* and *Caius*, that of *Livia* and *Octavia*, and the Theatre of *Marcellus*. By his Example and Sollicitations he excited the Generosity of those who made any eminent Figure in *Rome*, that they would beautifie the City, either by erecting new Piles, or repairing those that were decay'd, and giving them a new Luster: Accordingly *Marcius Philippus* built the Temple of *Hercules* of the Muses; *L. Cornificius*, that of *Diana*; *Asinius Pollio*, the Court of Liberty; *Munatius Plancus*, the Temple of *Saturn*; *Cornelius Balbus*, a Theatre; *Statilius Taurus*, an Amphitheatre; and *Agrippa* a great many, and those very splendid Edifices.

29. He divided the City into Streets and Wards, and ordain'd that the Wards should be governed by Magistrates, who were to be annually

nually choſen by Lot, and the other by Perſons elected out of the Common People of the Neighborhood. He was the firſt that inſtituted Watches to go the Rounds, to prevent Fires and Murders in the Night; and to keep back the Inundations of the *Tyber*, he enlarg'd its Channel, and cleans'd it from all the Rubbiſh and Ruines of Houſes, which by falling into it, had contracted the Stream, and made it overflow its Banks; that the Avenues to the City might be eaſie and acceſſible, he undertook to repair the *Flaminian* Way as far as *Ariminum*, himſelf, and the reſt of the Roads he diſtributed to the Care of thoſe who had triumph'd, and the Expences to be defray'd out of the Spoils of the Enemy. The Religious Places which were eaten out by time, or conſum'd by Fire, he took care to rebuild, and adorn'd them and the reſt with Preſents of an enormous Value; for he beſtow'd upon the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, 16000 weight of Gold, and Jewels, and Precious Stones, which amounted to Fifty millions of *Seſterces*, with one ſtroke of magnificent Liberality.

30. When he was Chief Prieſt, which he deferr'd the aſſuming of till after the Death of *Lepidus*, (for he would not deprive him of it whilſt he was alive) he made a ſearch every where for all the Books of Propheſie which were writ either in the *Greek* or *Latin* Tongues, and obtain'd amongſt the People (though the Authors of them were either unknown, or not of competent Vogue). and burn'd of them to the number of 2000; he only preſerv'd thoſe of the *Sibyls* from the Flames, and out of theſe too he made a Choice, and laid them up in two gilded Repoſitories, under the Pedeſtal of

Apollo's

Apollo's Statue, in the Palatine Quarter. The Year, which was firſt modell'd by *Julius* his Calendar, but afterwards through negligence became intricate and confus'd, he reduc'd to its firſt Method and Calculations; and in the Reformation of it, he choſe rather to call the Month *Sextilis* by his own Sir-name of *Auguſt*, than *September*, (though 'twas the Month wherein he was born) becauſe he obtain'd his firſt Conſulſhip and many ſignal Victories in it; he enlarg'd the Number, added to the Honour of the Prieſts, and rais'd their Revenue in proportion to their Dignity; but the Veſtal Virgins he took moſt immediately into his Protection; and when after the Death of any one, another was to be ſubſtituted in her room, and many Fathers anxiouſly deprecated that the Lot of Choice might not fall upon any of their Daughters, he proteſted ſolemnly, *That if the Years of any of his Grand-daughters were ripe for it, he would offer her himſelf to the Veil.* Some Cuſtoms, which through length of time had been diſus'd, and became obſolete, he reſtor'd to their primitive Obſervance; as the *Augury* of Health, the *Flamenſhip* of *Jupiter*, the *Lupercal Feſtival*, the *Secular* and *Compitalitian* Games; he forbid any one to run in the *Lupercals*, unleſs they had Beards. In the *Secular* Games, he likewiſe prohibited the young People of either Sex to frequent the Paſtimes that were celebrated by Night, unleſs in the Company of their grave Relations, as a Reſtraint upon their Converſation. In the *Compitalitian* Games, he order'd, that the Statues of the Houſhold Gods ſhould be hung with Garlands twice a Year, compos'd of Spring and Autumn Flowers.

Next to the Devotion he paid the Immortal Gods, he peculiarly honour'd the Memory of thoſe Commanders, who by their Valour had cultivated the Growth of the *Roman* Empire, and from ſuch low beginnings, rais'd it to its height; therefore he repair'd their Publick Works, with their Inſcriptions kept inviolate, and dedicated their Statues to *Fame*, cut in Triumph in both the Porticoes of his *Forum*, and then declar'd by an Edict, *That he did this induſtriouſly, that, according to their Example, himſelf, whilſt he was living, and the Princes his Succeſſors in future Ages, might be paſſionately deſir'd by the Citizens.* He remov'd likewiſe the Statue of *Pompey* from the Court wherein *Cæſar* was aſſaſſinated, and plac'd it over againſt his Theatre, upon a Marble Gate.

31. He corrected many things of pernicious example, which through the licentious Cuſtoms and Inſolence of Civil Wars, or the lazineſs and inactivity of Peace, tended to the Ruine of the Publick; for many Highway-men appear'd openly with their Swords by their Sides, as if it was only to defend themſelves, and ſurpriſing Travellers in the Fields, without any diſtinction whether they were Servants or Freemen, condemn'd them to ſevere Labour in their Workhouſes. There were alſo ſeveral Factions which entred into a Combination, under the Name of the New College, and bound themſelves in mutual Obligations of doing all ſorts of Wickedneſs; he therefore diſpos'd his Guards in Places ſo very commodious, that he ſuppreſs'd the *Banditi*, viſited theſe Arbitrary Priſons, and diſſolv'd all Societies, but thoſe which were confirm'd by Time, and lawful in themſelves. He

burn'd

burn'd the old Tables of Debts, wherein any one ſtood oblig'd to the Publick Treaſury, becauſe it miniſtred the chief Occaſion to Calumniators to foment Law-ſuits. The Publick Places in the City, whoſe Title was controverted, he always adjudg'd to be their Right who were in Poſſeſſion: Thoſe who lay long under Confinement, by reaſon their Proceſſes were delay'd, and no Conſequence reſulted from it, but the pleaſure their Enemies took to ſee them in want and live naſtily, he ſtruck their Names out of the Liſt of Criminals; he tied it on likewiſe with this Condition, that if any haraſs'd them with freſh Informations, they ſhould undergo the ſame Puniſhment themſelves; but that no Buſineſs ſhould be interrupted by delay, nor Crime eſcape unpuniſh'd, he took off thirty days from the Honorary Plays, and wholly appropriated them to the Pleading of Cauſes. To the three *Decuries* of Judges, he added a fourth of a ſubordinate Quality, who were to determine of leſſer Sins. He choſe Judges at Twenty five years of age, which was five years earlier than they us'd to be; but many declining that Office, it was with great difficulty obtain'd from him, that each *Decury* by turns ſhould enjoy an Annual Vacation, and that thoſe Cauſes which were us'd to be pleaded in the Months of *November* and *December*, ſhould be wholly omitted.

32. He gave Judgment every day himſelf, and ſometimes in the Night: If his Body was indiſpos'd, he heard Cauſes lying upon a Couch at home, or had it plac'd before the Tribunal. He was not only aſſiduous, but very mild in the exerciſe of this Authority; for one mani-

feſtly guilty of Parricide being brought before him, to prevent his being ſown up in a Sack, which is the Puniſhment they muſt ſuffer for the Crime, but not unleſs they confeſs it, he ſeem'd to put a Defence in his Mouth, by asking him this Queſtion, *Are you ſure that you kill'd your Father?* When there was an Arguing likewiſe before him about a forg'd Will, and by the *Cornelian* Law, all that ſign'd it as Witneſſes, were look'd upon as equally guilty; beſides, the two uſual Tables, the one of which condemn'd, and the other abſolv'd the Offender, he gave a third to the Judges, whereby he pardon'd thoſe who were betray'd to ſet their Hands by others circumventing them, or who err'd through inadvertency. The Appeals of the Citizens, when any Difference hapned amongſt them, he delegated to the Cogniſance of the Prætor; but the Provincial ones he committed to the deciſion of thoſe who had been Conſuls; to each of whom he allotted his Diſtrict of Authority, to preſide over the Affairs of his Province.

33. Some Laws he revis'd, and others he made wholly new; as the Sumptuary Law, that againſt Adultery, and for the preſervation of Modeſty; one to prevent Bribes in the gaining of Offices, and another that oblig'd all to marry for the good of the Publick: But being a little more ſevere in the Reformation of this Law than the reſt, he met with ſuch a number of Oppoſers, who grew mutinous upon it, that he could not carry it, unleſs he took away or mitigated ſome part of the Puniſhment, by indulging a three years Vacation after the Death of the Wife, and adding to the Rewards; and when a Knight, at a Publick Shew

in

in the Theatre, peremptorily demanded the Abolition of that Law, he ſent for the Children of *Germanicus*, and ſome being dandled in his own Lap, and others in that of their Father, he ſhew'd them to the People, giving palpable Intimations, both by his Hands and Countenance, that they would not think it grievous to imitate the Example of that young Gentleman, but would all emulouſly contend to get Children, as *Germanicus* had done; and when he ſaw that the Energy of his Sanction was like to be eluded by the immature years of the Bride, and the often changing of Marriages, he limited the times of Contract, and found out a Temper whereby he regulated Divorces.

34. The extravagant number of the Senators, which amounted to above a thouſand, and ſome who had no Worth to qualifie them, which made a tumultuous and unhandſom appearance, he reduc'd within their ancient Limits, and retriev'd their Splendor, (for after *Cæſar*'s Death, they were promoted by Favour and Corruption, and were opprobriouſly call'd by the Common People the *Orcini*, becauſe they had no Maſter above ground) and this he effected by two ſorts of Elections; the firſt was as they pleas'd themſelves, every one chuſing his Man; the ſecond by his own Royal Choice, and that of *Agrippa*. 'Twas at this time the Opinion went about him, that he wore a Coat of Mail under his Garment, and had a Sword by his Side when he preſided at this Election; ten of the moſt valiant of his Friends, who were of the Senatorian Order, encompaſſing his Chair. *Cordus Cremutius* writes, That no Senator had acceſs to his Preſence, unleſs he was alone, and his

his Boſom firſt ſearch'd, leſt a Poignard ſhould be conceal'd there; ſome he ſo importun'd, that he forc'd them to the Modeſty of excuſing themſelves, as not equal to the Charge; but though they bluſh'd themſelves out of the Employment, yet he ſtill reſerv'd to them the Honourable Privileges of wearing the Robe, of ſitting in the *Orcheſtra* at Publick Spectacles, and Feaſting in the Capitol. But that thoſe who were elected and approv'd, might diſcharge their ſeveral Functions more ſolemnly, and with leſs diſturbance, he ordain'd, That before any one took his Seat, he ſhould offer his Devotions at the Altar of that God with Frankincenſe and Wine, in whoſe Temple the Convention was held; and that no oftner than twice in a Month a lawful Senate ſhould be aſſembled, which had ſtated days for their coming together, and that was in the Calends and Ides; that in the Months of *September* and *October* it ſhould not be neceſſary for any more to be preſent, than thoſe which were choſen by Lot, which ſhould be a competent number to paſs any Decree. He reſtrain'd himſelf likewiſe to a Cuſtom of chuſing Privy Counſellors for ſix Months, with whom he prepar'd Buſineſſes to be referr'd afterwards to a full Senate, as their laſt Reſort. In Matters of Importance he did not ask the Senators Opinions according to Cuſtom, and every one in his Order, but as it pleas'd himſelf, that each Man ſhould be ſtrain'd up to that attention of Mind, as if he was to make a Propoſal of his own, and not barely to aſſent to that of another.

35. Other things likewiſe challenge him for the Author; as for inſtance, That the Tranſactions

actions of the Senate ſhould not be divulg'd; that Magiſtrates, when they laid down their Honour, ſhould not be preſently diſpatch'd to the Command of a Province; that a certain Sum of Money ſhould be allotted to the Proconſuls, to furniſh out their Equipage of Mules and Tents, which were before hir'd for them at the Publick Expence; that the Charge of the Treaſury ſhould paſs from the City Quæſtors to the preſent Prætors, or thoſe who had born that Office; and that the *Centumviral Court*, which was formerly call'd by thoſe who had been *Quæſtors*, by the ſetting up of a Spear, ſhould now be done by the *Decemviri*.

36. And that a greater number might have a ſhare in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, he erected new Offices, as the overſeeing Publick Works, High-ways, Common Waters, the Channel of *Tyber*, the diſtributing Corn to the Common People, the Provoſtſhip of the City, and the two Triumvirates, the one to congregate the Senate, and the other to take account of, and muſter the Troops of Horſe, as often as 'twas needful. He again reſtor'd the Cenſors, whoſe Creation had been diſus'd a long time, and encreas'd the number of the Prætors: He requir'd likewiſe, that as often as he was choſen Conſul, he might have two Colleagues for each Conſulate; but this he could not obtain, for they all unanimouſly cry'd out, that it detracted already from the Greatneſs of his Condition, that the Honour of that Command was eclips'd ſufficiently, by admitting one only.

37. Nor had he a frugal hand in rewarding Military Worth; for he decreed compleat Triumphs to thirty Commanders, and others he took

took care to remunerate with Triumphal Ornaments. That the Senators Sons might be early tinctur'd with the Reliſh of publique Affairs, he permitted them to wear the *Verile* Habit, and then the Senators Robe, and to be preſent at their Debates. When they were firſt enroll'd in the Militia, he not only made them Tribunes of Legions, but gave them the Command of whole Wings, and that every one might be experienc'd in the Art of the Camp, he gave the Command of two Wings to two of the Senators Sons. He made frequent Muſters of the Horſe, and after a long Omiſſion, reviv'd the Cuſtom of * *Tranſvection*; but he would not ſuffer any of them to be arreſted, or have their Horſes taken from them, whilſt this Ceremony was performing, as was us'd to be done. Him that was old or notoriouſly maim'd, he ſo far indulg'd, that ſending his Horſe before in the Ranks, himſelf ſhould come behind on Foot, to anſwer thoſe things which ſhould be objected to him by his Accuſer, as often as he ſhould be call'd upon; and afterwards he was ſo condeſcending, that he gave them leave to return their Horſes, if they were thirty five years of age, and were unwilling to retain them longer.

* Tranſvection, *this was a ſolemn Cavelcade which they began from the Temple of* Mars, *which was without the Walls, and carried it on to the Temple of* Caſtor *and* Pollux, *to celebrate their appearing and fighting for them when they came off Conquerours at the Lake* Regillus. Oxford, *note doubt of* Dionyſ. Halicar. *C. 6.*

38. Having obtained ten Aſſiſtants of the Senate, he made every Horſe-man give an account of his Life, and thoſe whoſe Conduct he diſlik'd, ſome he puniſh'd with Inflictions, and ſome with Ignominy; the moſt he only admoniſh'd, but variouſly; the gentleſt ſort of Reprimand he us'd, was the delivering them ſeal'd Tables,

Tables, wherein their Miſcarriages were regiſtred, and theſe they were to read only to themſelves, and preſently upon the place; and ſome he animadverted upon, for that taking up Money at very light Intereſt, they put it out afterwards to enormous uſe.

39. If any Candidates were wanting at the Aſſemblies for chooſing Tribunes, he created Senators out of the *Roman* Knights, ſo that when their Office was over, it might be left to their Choice to remain in what Order they pleas'd; but when many of the Knights having impair'd their Patrimonies in the Civil Wars, had not the Confidence to behold the publick Games out of the Gallery of fourteen Benches, for fear of the Puniſhment inflicted by the Theatre for that Preſumption, he declar'd that thoſe ſhould not be obnoxious to it, who either themſelves or Fathers, ever had a Gentleman's Eſtate. He cens'd the People by Streets, and that they might not too frequently be diſtracted from their Buſineſs by looking after their Doles of Bread, he deſign'd to have given them Tickets, by ſhewing of which, they might demand thoſe Allowances thrice a year; but they clamorouſly importuning that their old Cuſtom might be continu'd to them, he condeſcended to their Cries, that they ſhould again Receive it monthly. He reſtor'd likewiſe the antient Rites and Uſages of Aſſemblies, forbid the going about to buy Votes, by many and ſevere Penalties; and at the day of the publick Meeting, that they might not deſire any thing of the Candidates, he diſtributed a thouſand Seſterces a piece out of his own bounty, to two perſons who were of *Fabia* and *Scaptia* his own Tribes; beſides,

beſides, he thought it a matter of high moment to preſerve the *Roman* People unmixt, and that they ſhould not be debas'd by the Alloy of any Foreign or Servile Blood; therefore he was very ſparing of the Freedom of the City, and preſcrib'd new Orders for the Manumiſſion of Slaves. When *Tiberius* addreſs'd himſelf to him in the behalf of a *Græcian* that was his Client, he wrote him back this Anſwer, That he would not grant him his Requeſt, unleſs he would remonſtrate to him perſonally, what juſt Reaſons he had to become his Petitioner: and when *Livia* interceded for a Tributary *Gaule*, he denied to make him a Deniſon of *Rome*, but voluntarily granted him an Immunity from Taxes, declaring, that he had rather be diminiſh'd in the Profits of his Exchequer, than that the Honour of *Rome* ſhould be ſo vilely proſtituted; not content to have made it a matter of extream difficulty for Servants to obtain their Liberty at all, and much more a compleat Enfranchiſement. After he had made a ſcrupulous enquiry into the Number, Condition, and Difference, of thoſe who were to be manumitted, he ſuperadded this Injunction, that no one that had been tortur'd or bound in Chains, ſhould be made a Citizen upon any pretence of Liberty whatever. He made it his Endeavour likewiſe to bring the ancient Habit into faſhion; for ſeeing once a great Company in black Garments gather'd about the *Roſtrum*, he broke out into theſe paſſionate Expreſſions:

Romans, *whom wreaths of Victory do crown,*
Are now a dirty Nation in a Gown.

He

He impos'd it as a particular Task upon the *Ædiles*, that they ſhould not ſuffer any one for the future to ſit either in the *Forum* or *Circque* in their Gowns, unleſs they had firſt put off thoſe Garments which they us'd to throw over their Shoulders, to ſhelter them from the Weather.

40. He diſpens'd his Liberality to Men of all Orders, as the Occaſions were emergent; for after his Triumph at *Alexandria*, bringing princely Treaſures into the City, there was ſo great a plenty of Money, that Intereſt falling to a very low Ebb, the value of Lands was proportionably advanc'd; and afterwards if any Money remain'd out of confiſcated Goods, he indulg'd the Uſe of it gratuitouſly to them for ſuch a limited time, whoſe Eſtates amounted to twice the value of what they receiv'd for the Security of the Principal. He made great Acceſſions to the Eſtates of the Senators: and as before they were tax'd at the rate of 800000 Seſterces, he now rais'd them to 1200000, and ſupply'd them himſelf wherein they fell ſhort of that Sum. He made frequent Diſtributions of Money to the People, but the Sums were different; for ſometimes he would give 400, ſometimes 300, and ſometimes only 250 Seſterces: neither would he omit the young Lads, tho' their cuſtom was not to receive till they were 11 years of Age. In a ſcarce Year, when the Exigents of Hunger were preſſing, he would order Corn to be meaſur'd out to the People ſo much an Head, very often for an inconſiderable Price, and ſometimes for none at all, and would double their Money-Tickets.

41. But that you may underſtand him to be rather a frugal than an ambitious Prince, when the

the People complain'd of the ſcarcity and dearneſs of Wine, he reprimanded them in a very auſtere Accent, telling them, That his Son-in-law *Agrippa* had ſufficiently provided by his *Aqueducts*, that no body ſhould periſh with Thirſt. And when the ſame People were ſawcily demanding a Largeſs, which had been promiſed them, he return'd them this Anſwer, That he was of Credit, and a reſponſible Man. And when they requir'd a Congiary, that was not to be claim'd by them upon ſuch an Engagement, he reproach'd them with their Impudence, and the baſeneſs of the Action, even by a publick Edict, declaring that he would now bawk his own Inclinations, and not give them any thing, tho' he deſign'd it. With no leſs Gravity, and ſteadineſs of Reſolution, when he gave out that he would beſtow a Congiary, and found that a great many manumitted Slaves had fraudulently inſerted themſelves in the number of the Citizens, he declar'd, that thoſe ſhould not receive to whom the promiſe was not made; and as to the reſt, he detracted ſomething from his intended Bounty, that the Sum he deſign'd might be ſufficient for them all. But once upon a very great Dearth, and when Expedients could not be eaſily found out to relieve it, he turn'd the Slaves, the Families of Gladiators, and all Foreigners, except Phyſicians and Schoolmaſters, and part of the Domeſticks, out of the City; but when the Year began to recover it ſelf, he gives this Account in Writing, That he had a ſtrong Inclination upon him utterly to have aboliſh'd thoſe Diſtributions of Corn, becauſe dependance upon them made People incurious of Husbandry and tilling the Fields:

Fields: but that he afterwards cool'd in that Reſolution, for that he concluded it to himſelf as certain, that the Ambition of ſome one of his Succeſſors, would prompt him to reſtore that oſtentatious Cuſtom; and afterwards he carried himſelf with that Temper in the things, that he made as much account of the Farmers, and thoſe who buſied themſelves in the Country, as of the People of *Rome*, and admitted them to as equal ſhare in that Diſtribution.

42. He ſurpaſs'd all his Predeceſſors, both for the frequency, the variety, and magnificence of publick Spectacles. He ſaith, that he exhibited 24 in his own Name, and 23 more for thoſe who were abſent, or whoſe Abilities could not extend to the Charge of them. Sometimes he had his Plays acted in the Streets with variety of Scenes, and by Stage players collected out of all Nations; and this not only in the *Forum* and Amphitheater, but in the Cirque and Park; and ſometimes he exhibited nothing but Hunting. He built woodden Seats in the *Campus Martius*, to ſee the Wreſtlers: he exhibited likewiſe a Naval Combat near the *Tybre*, the Ground being dug into a great hollowneſs, there where *Cæſar*'s Grove now flouriſheth; upon theſe days he diſpos'd Guards in the City, that it might not be expos'd to the Pillage of the Robbers, who might take the advantage of the fewneſs of thoſe who were left at home. He produc'd thoſe into the *Circus* who were ſwift Runners, had a dexterity in managing the Chariot, and were killers of wild Beaſts, and ſometimes he choſe them out of the young Nobility: but the Play that was moſt frequently acted, was that which was

call'd *Troy*, perform'd by great and little Boys, which he had purpoſedly cull'd out, eſteeming it a becoming Cuſtom, wherein the Genius of a great Birth and Education might exert it ſelf, and be conſpicuous. In this Paſtime when C. *Nonius Aſprenates* had maim'd himſelf by a Fall, he beſtow'd a golden Collar upon him, and granted it as a Priviledge to him and his Poſterity, to bear the Sirname of *Torquati*, as denominated from that Preſent. But afterwards he put a ſtop to Diverſions of this nature, mov'd by the Oratory of *Aſinius Pollio*, who in the Senate invidiouſly and with great vehemence, lamented the Diſaſter of his Nephew *Æſerminus*, who had alſo broken his Thigh in that Exerciſe. He ſometimes made uſe of the *Roman* Knights themſelves to be his Gladiators and Comedians, but it was before it was interdicted by a Decree of the Senate. After that he exhibited nothing publickly, but *Lucius*, a Youth well deſcended, and him he ſhow'd as a particular Curioſity, that wanting ſomewhat of being 2 Foot high, and only weighing 17 Pound, yet he had a prodigious, Stentoraphonick Voice. Upon one of theſe ſolemn days he brought the *Perſian* Hoſtages, who were then newly arriv'd, croſs the Amphitheater, and plac'd them in the ſecond Gallery above himſelf, that they might be Spectators of the Game. It was his Cuſtom likewiſe, beſides theſe appointed days of Spectacles, if any thing was brought to *Rome* unuſual and worthy admiration, he did not confine himſelf to the rule of Place, but would exhibit them any where: As once he ſhewed a Rhinoceros in the Septa, a Tiger upon the Stage, and a Snake of 50 Cubits long

in

in the Court of Aſſembles. It hapned as he was performing his Vows in the *Circenſian* Games, he was ſuddenly indiſpos'd; but his Devotion reſiſting the Fit, and lying along in his Litter, he followed the Chariots wherein the Images of the Gods were carried in Proceſſion. Another time when he was celebrating the Sports at the Dedication of *Marcellus* his Theater, the joynts of his Curule Chair looſned, and threw him upon his Back. His Grandchildren too once acting a Play, when he ſaw the People in a Conſternation, leſt the Houſe ſhould fall upon them, and he could by no means aſſwage their panick Terrors, he went out of his own Place, and ſate himſelf down in that part which was moſt ſuſpected for its weakneſs.

43. He ſo order'd the manner of ſeeing of Games, that it became leſs confus'd, and corrected their licentious Cuſtoms; for he reſented an Affront offer'd to a Senator at *Puteoli*, to whom no body paid any Reception in their moſt celebrated Games, and when there was a numerous Aſſembly: Therefore an Edict of the Fathers iſſued forth, whereby it was enjoyn'd, that as often as there were any publick Games, the firſt Range ſhould be left void for the Senators. He forbid the Ambaſſadors that came to *Rome*, tho' from Nations that were free, and their Allies, to ſit in the *Orcheſtra*, becauſe he had diſcover'd that ſome were diſpatch'd upon that Employment, whoſe Quality reach'd no higher than being Slaves ſet at liberty. He ſeperated the Soldier from the Populace, and aſſign'd peculiar Seats to thoſe who were married of the common People: the young Gentlemen had Places allotted them in

the form of a Wedg; the next to them were the Schoolmaſters; and he gave Command that none ſhould ſit in the Pit in black Habit. He would not permit the Women to behold the Gladiators, which they were before wont to do promiſcuouſly, but from the upper Gallery; only the Veſtal Virgins he favour'd with a Place by themſelves, which was over againſt the *Prætor*'s Tribunal: but he ſo entirely remov'd that Sex from the ſight of the Wreſtlers, that in the Pontificial Plays, when a couple of them was earneſtly deſir'd, he deferr'd the Spectacle till the Morning of the next day, and ſtrictly gave out, that 'twas his expreſs Pleaſure, that no Women ſhould come into the Theater before five a Clock.

44. He beheld the Games of the *Circus* out of the Apartments of his Confidents, or of thoſe he had made free; ſometimes from thence where the Statues of the Gods were plac'd, and that ſitting with his Wife and Children. He would be away from the Sports many hours, and ſometimes whole days, but firſt he ask'd pardon of the Spectators, and deputed thoſe who ſhould preſide for him, and ſupply his Abſence. But as often as he was preſent, he devoted himſelf wholly to the Recreation, without minding any thing elſe; and this he did, either to decline the Aſperſion with which he remember'd his Father *Cæſar* was tainted by the common People, that during theſe Entertainments, he could allow himſelf leiſure to read Letters and Petitions, and write Anſwers back again; or elſe he was really mov'd with the deſire and abſtracted pleaſure of thoſe Sights: and that they did affect him, he never yet did diſſemble, but

but hath moſt ingeniouſly confeſs'd. Hence it was that even at the Sports of other People, he gave Coronets, and other Rewards, very great, and very frequently; and he was never preſent at any *Græcian* Exerciſe, wherein he did not reward every one of the Combatants, according to the merit of his Performance. But the Sport he moſt ſtudiouſly delighted in, was to ſee them box it out at Fiſty-cuffs, and chiefly if 'twas after the mode of the *Latins*; and not thoſe ſo much who were regularly diſciplin'd, and valued themſelves upon it as a Profeſſion, (tho' theſe too he would uſe to fight againſt the *Græcians*) but the Townſmen gather'd together in a tumultuous Heap, and who in the narrow Paſſages of the Street fought venturouſly without any ſleights of Art: indeed all Perſons that were any ways inſtrumental to promote theſe publick Exerciſes, were the objects of his Care, and he vouchſaf'd to have them in conſideration. He not only preſerv'd the Priviledges of the Wreſtlers entire, but enlarg'd them too: he would not ſuffer the Gladiators to fight, unleſs diſmiſſion ſhould be the Reward for the Conqueror. The power of puniſhing Stage-players in all Times and Places, which was permitted to the Magiſtrates by an ancient Law, he took away, and reſtrain'd it only to the Stage, and during the time of Acting; but this did not ſo ſlacken him, but that he ſtill ſeverely exacted their Exerciſes from the Winter-wreſtlers, and Prizes from the Gladiators. He ſo bridled the Licentiouſneſs of the Stage, that when it came to his knowledge, that one *Stephanio*, an Actor of Farces, had a Matron to wait upon him, in the Habit of a Boy, with her Hair cut, after

the Rods had chaſtiz'd him through three Theaters, he at laſt baniſh'd him. Upon the complaint likewiſe of the *Prætor* againſt *Hylas* a Buffoon, he order'd him to be laſh'd in his Court-yard, excluding no body from the ſight: And *Pylades* he not only diſfranchiz'd *Rome*, but turn'd him out of *Italy*, becauſe he pointed at one of the Spectaors who had hiſs'd him, and made him thus openly ridiculous by his Finger.

45. Governing the City, and adminiſtring the Affairs of it after this manner, by planting 28 Colonies in *Italy*, he increas'd the number of its People; he made it elegant likewiſe with publick Buildings, and enrich'd it with Revenues, ſo that in ſome meaſure he equall'd it to *Rome* it ſelf both for Privileg and Honour; for he invented a new ſort of Suffrages, which the Heads of the Colonies were to gather in their ſeveral Precincts, and then ſend them up ſeal'd to *Rome* againſt the day of Aſſembly, for chooſing the Magiſtrates of the City. And that there might not be wanting a great number of Perſons of Condition, and the Off-ſpring of the Populace, if any one deſir'd it, being recommended by any Town, tho' of the vileſt Conſideration, he advanc'd him into the Order of Cavalry, and made him a Gentleman; but to thoſe of the common People, who when he viſited the Provinces, could ſhew that they had Sons and Daughters lawfully begotten, he gave to every one of them 1000 Seſterces a piece.

46. The ſtronger Provinces, which 'twas neither ſafe nor eaſie to govern by annual Magiſtrates, he took the Adminiſtration of them upon

on himſelf, the reſt he delegated to his *Proconſuls* by Lot; and yet ſometimes he would intermix and change them, but of whatever kind they were, he moſt commonly viſited them in Perſon: ſome of the Confederate Cities, who by being licentious, ran on to the precipice of their Ruine, he depriv'd of their Freedom. He reliev'd ſome who were deeply immers'd in Debt, and thoſe which were overturn'd by Earthquakes he rebuilt; or if they pleaded Services, wherein they deſerv'd of the *Roman* People, he either gave them the Priviledg of *Latins*, or the Freedom of *Rome*. As I think, there was not a Province, except only *Africk* and *Sardinia*, which he did not perſonally viſit: he made all things ready for his Paſſage thither, having put to flight *Sextus Pompeius*; but ſuch extraordinary Tempeſts blew with that force and continuance, that they hinder'd his Deſign, and afterwards he had no opportunity, nor was there any occaſion for his Tranſportation.

47. The Kingdoms which he made himſelf Maſter of by the Right of Conqueſt, except ſome very few, he either reſtor'd to the original Poſſeſſors from whom he took them, or beſtow'd them upon Strangers. The Kings which were his Allies, he joyn'd faſt to one another, by the mutual Obligations of an intimate Friendſhip, having Inclinations always ready to promote endearing and amicable Correſpondencies, and he cheriſh'd all with that Tenderneſs; as looking upon them to be members and eſſential parts of the Empire. He appointed a Guardian likewiſe to thoſe who were *Minors* and *Lunaticks*, till the one arriv'd to the years of Maturity, and the other regain'd his Reaſon; and to the Chil-

dren of a great many, he gave the ſame Education as he did to his own, and brought them up together.

48. Out of his military Forces, he diſtributed his Legions and Auxiliaries by Provinces, and he order'd two Fleets to ride, one at *Miſenum*, and the other at *Ravenna*, to guard the upper and lower Seas. He ſelected a certain number of Men, partly for his own Security, and partly for that of the City, diſmiſſing his Band of *Calagurſitans* and *Germans*, both which he retain'd for the Guards of his Body, the one till the Defeat of *Anthony*, and the other till he loſt his Legions under *Varus*. Neither would he ſuffer more than three *Cohorts* to be in the City, and thoſe without any Encampents; the reſt 'twas his cuſtom to ſend to the Frontier-Towns both in Winter and Summer. But whereever his Soldiers were, he confin'd them to a ſtrict Allowance both for Stipend and Reward, the time of their ſerving in the Militia, and that of their Diſmiſſion, being alloted out according to each ones degree and merit. That they might not after Disbanding be provok'd by their ſenſe of being old and in want, to attempt any ſeditious Innovations in the State, and that there might be an eaſie and conſtant Supply of Revenue to protect and cheriſh them, he conſtituted a Treaſury for the Soldiers, with Taxes appropriate to their Maintenance; and that the conveyance and knowledg of what was tranſacted in each Province, might be the more expedite, he firſt lodg'd young Men upon the Roads, where the Soldiers were quarter'd, and at moderate Diſtances, that the Communication might be quick; and then he

ſet

ſet up flying Chariots for the ſwifter Intelligence. This ſeem'd to him the moſt commodious Expedient, becauſe that thoſe who brought the Letters to him from the Place, might be ask'd particular Queſtions perſonally, if the exigence of Affairs requir'd it.

49. In ſigning all his Diſpatches, publick Orders, and Letters, he at firſt us'd the Impreſſion of a *Sphinx*, afterwards the Picture of *Alexander* the Great, and at laſt his own, which was engrav'd by the Hand of *Dioſcorides*. And this the Princes who ſucceeded him, continued the Cuſtom on to ſeal with themſelves.

50. In all his Letters he was ſo nicely obſervant, that he put down the Minutes of the Hour, not only of the Day but Night, wherein they were dated. Of his Clemency and mild Temper there are many and illuſtrious Inſtances.

51. Not to enter into the Detail of how many, and who they were of different Factions, which he not only granted Pardon and Safety to, but ſufferd them to enjoy the principal Employments of the City. On *Junius Novatus*, and *Caſſius Patavinus*, who were of the Dregs of the People, he thought it a ſufficient puniſhment, only to inflict a pecuniary Mulct, and a ſlight puniſhment; tho' one under the diſſembled Name of young *Agrippa*, ſcatter'd a moſt venomous Libel againſt him amongſt the People; and the other being inflam'd at an Entertainment, declar'd in the hearing of all the Company, *That he neither wanted the Good Will or Courage to ſtab him.* Another time, upon a day that he ſate in Judgment, it being objected among other Crimes againſt *Emilius Ælianus* of *Cordova*,

Cordova, that he was wont to ſpeak ſcurrilouſly and irreverently of *Cæſar*, he turn'd to the Informer and in a ſeeming Paſſion, *I wiſh*, cry'd he, *thou couldſt but prove this to me, I would make Ælianus know that I have a Tongue too, and could ſay much more of him*; neither did he enquire any farther into the matter either then or at any time afterwards. To *Tiberius* alſo aggravating more violently the ſame Offence committed againſt his Honour, and preſſing him to revenge, he return'd this Anſwer, *Be not ſo haſty, my* Tiberius, *to give way to the heat of Youthful Paſſion in the Proſecution of this matter, and to take it ſo over hainouſly that any one preſumes to ſpeak Evil of me; for 'tis ſufficient that our Condition is ſuch that no body can do us harm.*

52. He knew likewiſe very well that Temples were frequently decreed in Honour of the Proconſulls. Nevertheleſs in no Province would he accept of that Honour, unleſs it were in the Common name of *Rome* and his own; for in the City he moſt obſtinately refus'd it. More than that, he caus'd all the Silver Statues which had been formerly ſet up in ſeveral places for him, to be melted down and ſold, and with the Money bought certain *Tripos's* of Gold which he Conſecrated to *Palatine Apollo*. When the People alſo with a kind of violent Importunity offer'd him the *Dictatorſhip*, bending with one Knee, and caſting his Gown from his Shoulders, with his * Breaſt uncovered he beſought their permiſſion to refuſe it.

* *To ſhew he would rather dye than accept ſo high an Employment.*

53. The Title and Appellation of *Lord*, as a word of Scandal and Reproach he always abhorr'd. For evidence of which it happen'd, that as he was ſitting one day to ſee a Comedy, one

one of the Actors had an occaſion to pronounce theſe words, *O moſt Juſt and Gracious Lord*; which the People apprehending to be ſpoken purpoſely of him, fell a clapping and humming up the Actor after a more than ordinary manner. But the Emperor not only at the ſame inſtant both with hard frowning Countenance ſhew'd his diſlike of ſuch undecent Flatteries, but the next day reprov'd and ſuppreſs'd them by a ſevere Edict on purpoſe ſet forth, and utterly forbid his being call'd Lord for the future, not enduring that Title ſo much as from his Children or Grand-Children, neither in jeſt nor earneſt: Beſides that he prohibited all Sycophantries of that Nature even among themſelves. And very rarely it was that he ever enter'd into any Town or City, or departed from thence unleſs it were in the Evening or Night time, that he might not diſturb the Inhabitants with formal and officious Attendance during his Conſulſhip, he generally walked a foot; when out of that Office, he was frequently carry'd through the Streets in a kind of * Cloſe Sedan. To promiſcuous Salutions he admitted the Common People alſo with ſo much affability and pleaſantneſs, receiving the Petitions of all that came, that 'tis reported he merrily reprehended a certain Perſon, by telling him *That he preſented his Petition to him, as if he had been giving a half penny to an Elephant.* On thoſe days that the Senate met, he never ſaluted the Fathers but in the Senate Houſe ſitting, and every one by their Names without the Aſſiſtance of a Prompter; and at his

* *Others inſtead of* adaoperta, *read* adaperta, *to ſignifie that he rode in an open Chair that all People might have Liberty to ſee and make their Addreſſes to him, more agreeable with what follows.*

his departure he obſerv'd the ſame order in taking his leave. He exercis'd mutual Offices of Friendſhip and Kindneſs with ſeveral Perſons; nor did he forbear to frequent and aſſiſt at all the Solemnities and Feſtivals of every one, till growing in years, and unable to endure the crowd upon a Nuptial Day. At what time, by his kind and comfortable perſwaſions, he recall'd to a reſolution of living *Terrinius Gallus* a Senator, though his familiarity with him was but ſmall, yet ſuddenly taken blind, and for that reaſon deſigning to ſtarve himſelf to death.

54. As he was ſpeaking in the Senate, he was interrupted by one with this Expreſſion, *I underſtand you not*, and by another who thus retorted, *I would contradict thee, were I thy equal in Degree.* More than this as he was one day flinging out of the Senate in a Paſſion, being offended at the heats and extravagant Diſputes of the Senators one among another, certain of the Fathers told him plainly, *That the Senators ought to have their Liberty to ſpeak their minds freely concerning the Affairs of the Commonwealth.* *Antiſtius Labeo*, at an Election of the Senate, where every ſingle Perſon chooſes his Man, made choice of *M. Lepidus*, formerly the Emperors Enemy, and then an Exile; and being ask'd by him, *Whether there were not others more worthy?* made anſwer, *That every Man was to have the freedom of his own Judgment.*

55. Nor was this Liberty or rather Contumacy lay'd hold of to the prejudice of any Man. And whereas ſeveral infamous Lampoons and Libells were ſcatter'd about the Court to his diſhonour, he neither feard them, nor took any care to refute them, or make any

any ſearch after the Authors. Only he made a Decree, that afterwards Cognizance ſhould be taken of thoſe that in their own or under pretended Names, publiſh'd any Defamatory Libells or Verſes to the Scandal or Diſparagement of any Man whatever. And being himſelf provok'd by the inſolent and ſawcy Jokes of ſome Perſons, he only anſwer'd them by ſetting forth an Edict to the contrary. Nevertheleſs he was an Interceſſour himſelf to the Senate, leaſt they ſhould determin any thing to prohibit the Liberty which was us'd by ſeveral in their laſt Wills and Teſtaments.

56. As often as he was preſent at the Elections of publick Magiſtrates, he rode through all the Tribes with his Competitors, whom he recommended to their Choice after the uſual Cuſtom. He alſo gave his Suffrage himſelf in the Tribe as one of the People. In Courts of Judicature he moſt patiently ſuffered himſelf to be examined as a Witneſs, and contradicted in his Depoſitions. He rather choſe to build his *Forum* or Hall of Juſtice too narrow and inconvenient than to diſpoſſeſs the Owners of their Houſes adjoyning. He never recommended his Children to the People but with this Addition, *If they ſhall deſerve it*: And nothing offended him more than to ſee the People riſe up and clap their Hands in token of Reſpect when the Youths in their Robes of Childhood enter'd the Theatre. As for his Friends though he were willing they ſhould be great and Potent in the City, yet would he not ſuffer them to enjoy greater Priviledges than the reſt, or to be exempt from the Judiciary Laws. So that when *Aſprenas Nonius*, nearly related to him,

was

was accus'd by *Cassius Severus* as guilty of poysoning several Persons at a Banquet, he consulted the Senate how to behave himself in that Case: *For that*, as he said, *he was in a quandary, least if the Offender should escape, upon his appearance for him, he might be thought to wrest a Malefactor from deserved Punishment; or if he should not appear, least he should be said to desert and forejudge his Friend.* Upon which when all had given their Consent, he sate down for some Hours upon the lower Seats, but without speaking a word or giving any Judicial Testimonial in his behalf. For his Clyents and Dependents he appear'd as an Advocate; as he did for one *Scutarius*, one of his old Soldiers, who had an Action of Scandal brought against him. Of all the Criminals and Persons accus'd in his Reign, he only rescu'd one *Castricius* by Name, who had discover'd to him the Conspiracy of *Murena*; and yet not him neither, but by, his importunate Entreaties, with which he so mollify'd the Breast of his Accuser, that he was content to surcease his prosecution.

57. How highly he was belov'd by the People for these Noble Qualities, may be easily imagin'd. I omit the Decrees of Senate which may seem to be the effects either of Constraint or Flattery. The *Roman* Knights were always wont to celebrate his Birth Day for two whole days together, of their own proper Motions, and by common consent among themselves. All the Orders of the City besides, every year threw little Pieces of Money into *Curtius*'s Lake, in Testimony of their good wishes for the long Life and Prosperity of the Emperor. Upon the Calends of *January*, though in his absence, they

they offer'd their Newyears-Gifts in the Capitol; with which Sum he bought thoſe coſtly Images of the Gods, which he Dedicated and ſet up in ſeveral Villages, as of *Apollo Sandaliarius*, *Jupiter Tragœdius* with many others. Toward the reparation of his *Palatine* Houſe conſum'd by Fire, the *Veterane* Soldiers, the *Decuries*, or Societies of the Lawyers, the Tribes, and indeed all Perſons of the meaneſt Rank and Condition had freely contributed according to their Ability; but he only skimm'd thoſe mighty Heaps, refuſing to take above a Penny from any Man for his own ſhare. When he return'd alſo from any Province, they met him not only with loud Acclamations and Good Wiſhes, but with Songs and Dances. And it was obſervable, that upon the Day that he enter'd the Town, there was never any Execution of Offenders, nor any Condemnation of the Guilty.

58. The Title of Father of his Country was given him by all in general with the moſt univerſal and unanimous Conſent that ever could be imagin'd. Firſt by the Commonalty, who ſent him their Commiſſioners to *Antium* for that purpoſe; where becauſe he refus'd it, they throng'd about him being return'd to *Rome*, and gave it him again with Laurels upon their Heads, as he was going to ſee the publick Shews. Soon after the Senate did the ſame in open Court, not by Decree, or Acclamation, but by the Mouth of *Valerius Meſſalla*, who being commanded to deliver himſelf in the Name of the whole Senate, *All Happineſs*, ſaid he, *and Proſperity to thee and thy Family, Cæſar Auguſtus* (for in ſo doing we believe we pray for the perpetual

perpetual Felicity of the Commonwealth) The Senate with the unanimous consent of the People of *Rome*, Salute thee FATHER OF THE COUNTRY. To whom, with Tears in his Eyes, *Augustus* made answer, (for I set down as well his own as *Messalla*'s words as they were spoken) *Being now the Master of my Wishes*, (Conscript Fathers) *what have I now more to beg of the Immortal Gods, but that I may be permitted to continue this unanimous Consent of yours to the utmost Period of my Life.*

59. Moreover they erected a Statue of Brass and plac'd it by the Image of *Esculapius*, in Honour of *Antonius Musa*, his Physician, who had recover'd him of a dangerous Fit of Sickness. And some Masters of Families there were who provided more especially by their Wills, that after their decease their Heirs should carry their Bodies into the Capitol, with a Victim led before the Corps with an Inscription upon the Forehead, declaring the Reason of the Offering to be, for that the Gods had been pleas'd to permit them to leave *CÆSAR AUGUSTUS* SAFE AND IN HEALTH BEHIND THEM. Moreover certain Cities of *Italy* began the Year upon the Day, that he first Honour'd them with his Presence.

60. The Kings that were his Friends and Allies, every one in particular within his own Kingdom built a City and call'd it *Cæsarea*; and altogether * design'd to finish at their common Charge the Temple of *Jupiter Olympicus*, begun in former times at *Athens*, and dedicate it to his *Genius*. Nay more than this, such was the Reverent Esteem which they had for his Person, that many times they left their own Kingdoms,

* *For it was not finish'd till* Adrian's *Time.*

Kingdoms, to pay him daily Honours, and to attend, as his Subjects in *Roman* Habit without any of their Enſigns of Royalty; and that not only in *Rome*, but as he took his Progreſſes through the ſeveral Provinces.

61. And now having repreſented him what he was in his Imperial Command, and publick Adminiſtration of Soveraign Government, and how he rul'd the greateſt part of the World as well in Peace as in War, I ſhall now give an Account of his more private and familiar manner of living; how he convers'd at home among his Friends and Relations, and his particular Conduct from his Youthful years to the laſt Moment of his Life. His Mother he loſt in his firſt Conſulſhip; his Siſter *Octavia* in the Fifty fourth year of his Age. And as he had performed to both, when they liv'd, all the kind Offices of a Son and a Brother, ſo after their deceaſe he did them the greateſt Honours he could beſtow upon their Memories.

62. Being as yet but under Age he was contracted to the Daughter of *P. Servilius Iſauricus*; but being reconcil'd, after their firſt falling out, to *Antonius*, and the Soldiers of each Party being deſirous that the Union might be confirm'd by ſome ſtrict Alliance, he marry'd *Claudia*, the Daughter of *Fulvia* by *P. Clodius*, and Daughter-in-Law to *Antonius*, though at that time ſcarce ripe for the Nuptial Bed. But upon his Mother-in-Law *Fulvia's* enticing him to Adultery, and differences ariſing between them upon his Refuſal, he ſent the young Lady home again a Virgin untouch'd as he had her. Soon after he took to Wife *Scribonia*, the Widow of two Perſons both of Conſular Dig-

nity, and by one of them a Mother of Children. But her he Divorc'd, not able, as he writes himself, to endure her froward and peevish Humours; and presently after falling in love with *Livia Drusilla*, the Wife of *Tiberius Nero*, he took her from her Husband by force, though at the same time big with Child, marry'd her, and lov'd her entirely to the very last.

63. By *Scribonia* he had *Julia*; by *Livia* never any Children, though he most passionately desir'd it; for she miscarry'd of the only Child, that ever she conceiv'd by him. *Julia* he marry'd to *Marcellus* his Sister *Octavia's* Son, while he was yet a Minor; and after his decease he gave her in Wedlock to *M. Agrippa*, having prevail'd with his Sister to consent to the Match with her Son-in-Law: For then had *Agrippa* marry'd the other of the *Marcella's*, and had several Children by her. He being also dead, after long debate with himself, and having cast his Eye upon several of the *Equestrian* Order, he made Choice of *Tiberius* for his Son-in-Law, and compell'd him to put away his Wife by whom he had several Children, and then also big with Child. *Marcus Antonius* writes, that he first of all contracted *Julia* to his Son *Antonius*; then to *Cotiso*, King of the *Getæ*, at what time he himself was also in Treaty for the King's Daughter.

64. By *Agrippa* and *Julia* he had three Grand-sons, *Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa*, and two Grand-daughters, *Julia* and *Agrippina*. As for *Julia* he marry'd her to *L. Paulus* the Censor's Son, and *Agrippina* to *Germanicus* his Sisters Grand-son. *Caius* and *Lucius* he adopted into his

his own Family, after he had purchas'd them of their Father *Agrippa*, according to the uſual Ceremonies, for ſo much weight in Money; and being yet very young, advanc'd them to Publick Employments, deſign'd them Conſuls, and ſent them into the Provinces to Command the Armies. His Daughter and Grand-daughters he bred up with that ſeverity, as to be kept cloſe to their Spinning Wheels, and forbid them to ſpeak or do any thing but in Publick, and what was afterwards ſet down in the Memorials of every day. And ſo ſtrictly were they forbid the Company of Strangers, that in a Letter which he wrote to *L. Tucinius* a Lovely Gentleman and of Noble deſcent, he wrote him word, *That he had exceeded the Bounds of Modeſty, and Decency, in going to* Bayæ, *to give his Daughter a Viſit.* His Grand-ſons he tuter'd himſelf, and taught them to ſwim, and all their firſt Rudiments of Learning; nor was there any thing which he labour'd more then to perfect them in the Imitation of his own Character. Nor did he ever dine or ſup without his Grand-children were ſitting at the lower end of the Table; nor did he ever take a Journey, but either they were carry'd before him in a Chariot, or rode a Horſe-back on each ſide of him. But notwithſtanding the great hopes he had of his Off-ſpring through the ſtrictneſs of his Diſcipline, Fortune fail'd him in every one: For both the *Julia*'s, notoriouſly infamous, and no leſs infamouſly wicked, he was compell'd to baniſh. *Caius* and *Lucius* he loſt in two and twenty Months one after another; *Caius* dying in *Lycia*, and *Lucius* at *Marſeilles*. After their deceaſe he Adopted his Third Grand-ſon *Agrip-*

pa, and his Son-in-Law *Tiberius*, with the consent of the People of *Rome* in their * Court Assemblies. But *Agrippa* proving of an unruly and untractable Disposition he soon turn'd him off again, and confin'd him to *Surrentum*. And indeed he took much more patiently the Death, than the Debaucheries and Misdemeanors of his Children. For he was not so much afflicted at the Misfortunes of *Caius* and *Lucius*; but of his Daughter he could not forbear complaining to the Senate, in a Letter which was openly read by the *Quæstor*, in his absence from the City. And understanding much about the same time that one of his Daughters Confidents and Freed-women, *Phœbe* by name, had hang'd her self, he protested, *He had rather have been* Phœbe's *Father than* Julia's. During the time of her banishment, he would neither permit her the use of Wine, nor any superfluity in her Apparel. At length at the end of Five years, he remov'd her out of the Island, where she was confin'd into the Continent, and treated her with somewhat less severity than before; but he could never be prevail'd upon to recal her home; and to the People of *Rome*, that often and most earnestly interceded for her, he as often us'd this Imprecation, *I wish yee had all such Wives and Daughters*. The Child that was born of his Grand-daughter *Julia* he forbad to be either own'd or bred up. And as for *Agrippa*, who was no way to be reclaim'd, but rather grew every day more Brute than other, he transported him into an Island, and set a Guard of Soldiers upon him. And he obtain'd a Decree of

* Comitia Curiata *were those when they went from Parish to Parish to ask the People's consent to such or such a Law, which was given by Suffrage.*

of the Senate to have him kept in the ſame place as long as he liv'd. And every time any mention was made either of him or the two *Julia's*, with Tears in his Eyes, and fetching a deep ſigh, he would utter the following Greek Verſe,

Αὐθ' ὄφελον ἀγαμός τ' ἔμεναι, ἀγονός τ' ἀπολέσθαι

Alluding to the Verſe in *Homer*, in the third of his Iliads.

O that I nere the Name of Wife had known,
And without Children to my Grave had gone.

Nor did he uſually call them by any other Names than thoſe of his three Excreſcencies or Impoſtumes.

66. His Friendſhip was not eaſily obtain'd, but when contracted once, unſhaken and conſtant; not only honouring the Vertues and Merits of his Friends, but conniving at their Vices and Infirmities, ſo they were not too notorious. Nor indeed, of all the number of his Friends ſhall we find any that were over haſtily diſcarded, unleſs it were *Salvidienus Rufus*, and *Cornelius Gallus*, whom from low and inconſiderable Fortunes he had advanc'd the one to the Conſulſhip, the other to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ægypt*: The firſt of which hatching Treaſon and Rebellion, he deliver'd over to the Senate to be condemn'd; the latter, for his Inſolent behaviour and Ingratitude, he turn'd out of his Provinces and forbid him his Palace. Afterwards *Gallus* by the Depoſitions of his Accuſers

and the Decrees of the Senate, being reduc'd to that degree of deſpair as to be his own Executioner, he applauded indeed their Zealous indignation conceiv'd in his behalf; but with Tears in his Eyes bewayl'd his own Condition, *That he was the only Perſon for whom it was not lawful to be angry with his Friends to what degree he pleas'd himſelf.* The reſt, every one according to his Rank and Quality, flouriſh'd in Wealth and Honour to the end of their Lives, though not without ſome intervening Frowns and touches of his diſpleaſure. For ſometimes, not to mention others, he would blame both *M. Agrippa* for his want of Patience, and *Mecænas* for his want of Taciturnity. While the one, out of a ſlight ſuſpition that the Emperour lookt upon him with an ill Eye, and that *Marcellus* was preferr'd before him, had left all his Buſineſs and Family, and withdrawn himſelf privately to *Mitylene*; the other had blab'd to his Wife *Terentia* the Secret concerning the diſcover'd Conſpiracy of *Murena*. He alſo requir'd mutual Teſtimonies of the Kindneſs and Affection of his Friends, as well after their deceaſe, as when they were living. For though he were not covetous of Inheritances, as one that never could endure to accept of Legacies by the Will of an unknown Perſon, yet he deeply weighed the laſt Judgments of his Friends; not diſſembling his grief, if they mention'd him too ſparingly and meanly in Words; nor his ſatisfaction, if they left behind them a Grateful and Pious eſteem of his Perſon. And when he had Legacies or Parts of Inheritances left him by ſome Parents, he was wont to return them back immediately to their Children, or if they were under

under Age, he reſtor'd them again upon the Day of Marriage, or when they put on their Robes of Manhood with a conſiderable Aditi-on of his own.

67. Toward his Domeſtick Servants, as he was ſometimes ſevere, ſo was he alſo a moſt clement and eaſie Maſter, inſomuch that he both honour'd and highly entruſted many of his freed Bondmen, as *Lucinius Enceladus* and others. *Coſmus* his Slave talking ſawcily of him, he puniſh'd no farther than by laying him in Irons. He rather choſe to tax his Steward *Diomed* of Cowardice than bad Intent, when walking alone together, at what time a wild Boar came running out againſt them, the Servant thruſt his Maſter upon the Savage Beaſt; a thing of no ſmall danger; but becauſe it was not done out of any deſign, he turn'd it into a Jeaſt. Nevertheleſs he put *Proculus* to death, among all his Freedmen the chiefeſt of his Favourites, as being convicted to have Adulterated ſeveral Matrons of Quality. *Thallus* his Amanuenſis, diſcovering the Contents of one of his Letters for Five hunder'd Denaries, was by him order'd to have his Legs broken. The Tutors alſo, Servants of his Son *Caius*, becauſe upon a Rumour of his ſickneſs and death, they carry'd themſelves haughtily and committed ſeveral Rapines in his Province, he order'd to be thrown into a River with a ponderous weight ty'd about their Necks.

68. In his younger years he underwent the Infamy of many Miſdemeanors by him committed: *Sextus Pompeius* upbraided him for his Effeminacy; *M. Antony* tells him publickly that he had never been in that favour, nor adopted by his

Unckle, had he not been his Proſtitute. *Lucius* alſo the Brother of *Marcus*, ſcruples not to affirm, that after he had been firſt deflowr'd by *Cæſar*, that he ſold the remainder of his Chaſtity to *A. Hirtius* in *Spain* for Three hunder'd thouſand Pieces of Money; and that he was wont to ſinge his Thighs with flaming Wallnuts, to make the Hair come the ſofter and more delicate. The whole Body of the People alſo being aſſembl'd one day to behold a certain Interlude, they not only expounded to his diſhonour, but unanimouſly applauded a Verſe pronounc'd upon the Stage concerning one of the *Galli* or Prieſts of the Mother of the Gods playing upon his *Tabor*.

Videſne ut Cinædus Orbem digito temperet?

Behold that Catamite, how he the Orb
Of ſpacious Earth can with his Finger curb.

69. That he was addicted to the Crime of Adultery, his Friends themſelves do not deny, though they palliate and excuſe it, by alledging that what he did was not ſo much for the ſatisfaction of his Luſt, as out of Reaſon of State, as deſigning to diſcover the Contrivances of the Husbands by his familiarity with their Wives. *Marcus Antonius*, beſides his overhaſten'd Nuptials with *Livia*, layes to his charge, that he took a Lady who was Wife to a Conſular Perſon, and in her Husbands preſence leading her out of the Dining Room into the Bed-Chamber, after a ſhort ſtay brought her in again to the Banquet, with her Ears glowing red, and her Locks all in diſorder; and that he

put

put away *Scribonia*, becauſe ſhe complain'd too freely of the Pride and Imperiouſneſs of one of his Concubines. Moreover that he employ'd his Friends to enquire out ſuch as were for his turn, who after the Bargain made were to be ſtript and expos'd naked to their view, as if they had been to have been ſold in open Market by *Thoranius*, who made it his Trade. Beſides this, the ſame *M. Antony*, while as yet he was neither his private Adverſary, nor his publick Foe, writes to him after a familiar manner in theſe words. *What has thus alter'd thy humour? Is it becauſe I lye with a Queen? She is my Wife. Is this ſuch news, have I not enjoy'd her theſe nine years? Prithee tell me, doſt thou kiſs none but* Druſilla? *All I wiſh thee after thou haſt read this Letter is only this, that thou maiſt be as certainly happy, as thou haſt kiſt either* Tertulla *or* Terentilla, *or* Ruſilla, *or* Salvia Titiſcenia, *if not all of them. Is it a pin matter where or to whom thou diſplayſt thy Inſtrument?*

70. There was alſo a Story flew about of a private Supper which he made, which was vulgarly call'd the Supper of the twelve Gods; at what time the Gueſts were ſaid to have ſate down in the habit of Gods and Goddeſſes, he himſelf repreſenting *Apollo*; and this is lay'd to his charge not only by *Antony* in an Epiſtle where he ſatyrically names the very Perſons themſelves, but alſo by the following Verſes, better known than their Author.

Cum primum iſtorum conduxit menſa choragum
Sexque Deos vidit Mallia, *ſexque deas.*
Impia dum Phœbi Cæſar *mendacia ludit,*
Dum nova Divorum canat Adulteria

Omnia

Omnia ſe à Terris tunc Numina declinarunt.
Fugit & auratos Jupiter *ipſe Thronos.*

Soon as the Veſtments for the Feaſt were hir'd
Six Gods, ſix Goddeſſes themſelves attir'd
In *Mallia*'s view;
And Impious *Cæſar* nothing would ſuffice
But *Phœbus* ſhape, and under that diſguize
Th' Adulteries of the Gods to act anew.
But then the Gods withdrew
From Sights on Earth they could not brook,
And *Jove* himſelf their guilded * Thrones forſook.

* *Meaning the guilded Beds where the Counterfeit Deities lay at ſupper imitating the Celeſtial Powers.*

The noiſe of this Supper was ſtrangely augmented by an accidental Famin and Scarcity, that happen'd at the ſame time in the City; ſo that the next day it was ſpread abroad, *That the Gods had eat up all the Wheat*; *and that* Cæſar *was turn'd* Apollo *indeed, but 'twas* Apollo *the Tormentor*, under which Title he was Worſhip'd in a certain part of the City. He was alſo greatly taken notice of for his immoderate deſire of ſumptuous Houſhold-ſtuff, *Corinthian* Veſſels, and his being vehemently addicted to play. So that in the time of his Proſcription this Paſquil was writ upon his Statue,

Pater Argentarius, Ego Corinthiarius.

My Father was a Dealer in Money, I am a Merchant of * Corinthian *Ware.*

* *The Jeaſt as I ſuppoſe lies here, that Corinthian Ware may be taken as well for the vaſt number of Curteſans, as the great trade droven in Veſſels of all ſorts for which that City was famous.*

Becauſe it was thought that many were proſcribed upon his ſollicitation, for the ſake of their Plate. Afterwards

terwards in the time of the *Sicilian* War the following Epigram was diſperc'd about.

Poſtquam bis claſſe victus naves perdidit
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit aſſiduè aleam.

Twice having loſt his Shipwrackt Fleet at Sea,
That he might win at length, he falls to play.

71. But of all theſe Crimes or Aſperſions, which you pleaſe to call them, he eaſily wip'd off the ſtain of Proſtitution, by the Chaſtity which he obſerv'd during the whole courſe of his Life. As for the malicious ſlander of his greedineſs after coſtly Houſhold-ſtuff, he confuted it by his Moderation at the taking of *Alexandria*, at what time of all the Royal Furniture he reſerved nothing to himſelf but one Porcellan Cup, ordering the Veſſels of Gold, tho' never ſo frequent in uſe, to be all melted down. But from the uſe of Women he could not ſo eaſily clear himſelf. And it is reported that being more addicted to the deflowring of Virgins, his Wife ſo far indulg'd that ſame humour of his, as to provide him Maidenheads at her own expences from all parts, to ſatisfie his Pleaſure. The report of his being a Gameſter he never valu'd, but play'd fairly and publickly for his Recreation even when he was grown old; and that upon the Saturnalian Holidays, or upon any other the moſt ſolemn Feſtivals: Of which there is no queſtion to be made; for it appears by an Epiſtle under his own hand to *Tiberius*. *I ſupp'd*, ſaid he, *with the ſame Perſons*,

ſons; you know, my Tiberius, who they were. Thither alſo Vinicius and Silvius the Father invited themſelves. Between the Meſſes we play'd after the manner of old Gameſters both yeſterday and to day: For the Dice being thrown, as every Man threw his chance, whether Ace or Six, Eight or Four, he ſtak'd as many Denaries as there were Spots in his Chance; and he that threw * Venus ſwept the Table. And in other Letters, My Tiberius, We have had a great deal of Paſtime during this Feſtival of Minerva. We play'd every day and warm'd the Groom-Porters Lodge. Thy Brother ſtorm'd and ſwagger'd moſt terribly, but at laſt he recover'd himſelf pretty well; for his loſſes were great, and his recovery of himſelf contrary to hope or expectation. I loſt 20000 Pieces of Money upon my own hand; but the chief Reaſon was becauſe of my extraordinary liberality at play, according to my Cuſtom: For had I been exact upon others ill throwing, and kept what I generouſly gave away, I had been a winner 50000 Seſterces. But I had rather obſerve my old wont: For my Benignity will advance me to Celeſtial Honour. He alſo writes to his Daughter thus; I have ſent thee 250 Seſterces, which Sum I have alſo beſtow'd upon the reſt of my Gueſts, that if they pleas'd, they might play between whiles at Supper among themſelves either at Dice, or at Even or Odd.

* That was he that threw all the Spots upon the Dice.

† For in regard the Roman Gentry wore all Gold Rings, and the meaner ſort thoſe of Iron, no queſtion, but there were ſeveral of that Trade.

72. As to any other Reflections that might be made upon his manner of living, moſt certain it is that he was very continent, and free from all ſuſpition of Vice. His firſt Dwelling was neer the *Roman* Forum, beyond the Stairs, where the † Ring-makers kept their Shops, in the ſame Houſe where formerly *Calvus* the Orator had liv'd. Afterwards he remov'd to the

Palatine

Palatine Mount; but in an ordinary Houſe of *Hortenſius*'s, conſiderable neither for the Rooms, nor the Furniture. As being ſuch a one to which the Galleries that belong'd were very ſhort, ſupported only with Pillars of a ſoft *Alban* Stone; and the Rooms of State without either Marble or conſpicuous Pavements. Moreover for forty years together he lay in the ſame Chamber Winter and Summer, tho' he found that the City Air did very ill agree with his health in the Winter, as being continually afflicted in the City with the inconveniencies of that Seaſon. If he deſign'd any buſineſs in private where he would not be diſturb'd, he had a particular Retirement at the top of the Houſe, which he call'd *Syracuſe*, and by another Name πυχνόφυον, or the *Plantation of Sciences*; or elſe he withdrew to ſome of his Freedmens Houſes in the Suburbs; but when he happen'd to be ſick he always lay at *Mecænas*'s Houſe. Of all his Houſes of Pleaſure he moſt affected thoſe that ſtood upon the Sea Coaſts or in the Iſlands of *Campania*, or elſe in the Towns that were next to the City, as *Lanuvium*, *Præneſte*, and *Tibur*, where he often heard Cauſes in the Portico's of the Temple of *Hercules*; for he never car'd at all for ſpacious and Magnificent Palaces, ſo that he pull'd to the ground the ſumptuous Edifice which his Grand-daughter *Julia* had rear'd with ſo much profuſeneſs of expence. His own were but moderate, and thoſe not ſo pompouſly furniſh'd with Statues and Pictures, as accomodated with the Conveniencies of Cloiſters in Winter, and ſhady Groves for Summer, and ſometimes beautifi'd with Rarities and Pieces of Antiquity, as the Heads and vaſt Members

Members of wild Beasts and Sea Monsters, of which some were of that extraordinary dimension, that they were reported to be the Bones of Gyants, and Arms of the Ancient Hero's. His frugality in his Furniture and Houshold-stuff appears also to this day by the remains of his Beds and Tables, of which some are hardly fit for the use of a private Gentleman; and as for the Bed on which he lay himself, it is reported to have been but very low and the Furniture mean. He rarely wore any other Garments but what were spun at home by his Wife, his Sister, his Daughter or his Grand-children. His upper Robes were neither too scanty nor too loosely flowing, and the Studs neither too broad nor too narrow: his Shoes were somewhat higher heel'd than ordinary, to make him appear the taller. In a word, his Cloaths and his Shoes lay always ready in his Bed-Chamber upon any sudden and unexpected occasion.

74. He frequently made great Entertainments, and those always solemn and regular, to which he was still very nice what Company he invited. *Valerius Messala* writes that he never admitted any of his Freedmen to his Table, except *Menas*; nor him neither till he had made him a free Denizen, and restor'd him to his Native Liberty for betraying *Sextus Pompeius*'s Fleet. And he himself tells us, that he once invited a certain Person, in whose House in the Country he happen'd to make a short stay, who had been formerly one of the Pensioners of his Guard. Sometimes he came very late to his Feasts, and departed as soon; the Guests being sate down long before him, and staying a good while after him. His Supper consisted of no more than three

three Meſſes, or at moſt of ſix upon extraordinary exceedings; but it was not ſo much the plenty of the Diſhes, as the pleaſantneſs and familiarity of the Maſter that render'd the Banquet acceptable. For ſuch as he obſerv'd to be ſilent or to whiſper, out of reſpect he would encourage to ſpeak out and be free in their Diſcourſe; and for Mirth's ſake he would often have at his Table either ſome to tell Stories, or Players or common Merry Andrews out of the *Circus*, but more frequently boaſting Pedagogues and maintainers of Paradoxes.

75. Feſtivals and ſolemn Holidays he celebrated ſometimes with great profuſeneſs, ſometimes only jocularly. For upon the *Saturnalian* Feſtivals, or at other times when he pleas'd himſelf; ſometimes he would make diſtributions of Garments, Gold or Silver; ſometimes of Money of all ſtamps, the Coins of ancient Kings and Foreign Princes; at other times his gifts conſiſted of nothing but Hair-cloaths, Spunges, Oven-rakers, and Pick-tooths with obſcure and Ambiguous * Inſcriptions. He would alſo for farther Entertainments ſake make Lotteries of ſeveral things of moſt unequal value, and ſell Pictures by their back ſides, through that uncertainty to make himſelf ſport with the good Fortune or diſappointment of the Buyers. And this Lottery was carry'd to all the ſeveral Gueſts, that every one might partake of the loſs or the gain.

76. He was very ſparing in his Dyet, and generally fed very meanly: He was a great lover of brown Bread, ſmall Fiſh, green Cheeſe,

* *For Example, he wrote upon the Hair-cloth to the coldeſt, or moſt hairy; upon the Spunges to the blear-eyd; upon the Oven-rakers ſomething relating to the privy parts; upon the Pick-tooths to the beſt Trencherman, to make ſport while every man was laughed at for being indeed what the Emperor had nam'd him to be in the Gift that fell to his Lot.*

Cheeſe, and green Figs, eſpecially ſuch as ripen twice a year: And he would eat before Supper at any time or in any place when his ſtomach requir'd it His own words taken out of his Epiſtles are theſe, *As we rode in our Chariot we eat Bread and ſmall Dates:* And in another place, *As I return'd home in my Litter from the Palace of* Numa, *I made bold with an Ounce of Bread and ſome few ſowre Grape Kernels.* And again, *Never did any Jew, my* Tiberius, *ſo ſtrictly obſerve his Sabbath, as I have this day, having only eat two Mouthfuls of Bread in the Bath, and that not till Seven a Clock at night, before they began to anoint me.* Thus careleſs as he was of his Dyet, ſometimes before the Banquet began, ſometimes after it was over, he ſupp'd alone, not having touch'd ſo much as the leaſt Morſel at the Table.

77. He was naturally no way addicted to drink; ſo that *Cornelius Nepos* affirms, that he never drank above thrice at a Meal all the while he lay before *Modena.* Afterwards, when he gave himſelf the greateſt freedom, he never exceeded a Quart for his ſhare, or if he did, he was ſure to throw it up again. He chiefly affected a ſort of Wine that grows among the *Griſons,* at the feet of the Alps, but very rarely drank any in the day time. To quench his Thirſt he took a piece of Bread dipp'd in cold Water, or a ſlice of Cowcumber, or a Lettice-top, elſe a new gather'd ſower Apple that had a winy ſort of taſte.

78. After his repaſt at Noon, in his Cloaths and Shooes as he was, he lay down a while with his Feet cover'd, and his Hand before his Eyes. After Supper he betook himſelf to his Meditation

Meditation Couch, where he continu'd till late at night, and that he had ſet down all or the greateſt part of the moſt memorable Paſſages of that day. From thence he went to bed, where at moſt he never ſlept above ſeven Hours; and not that with a continu'd Nap, but waking three or four times in that ſhort ſpace of time. If he found that after he was awake he could not ſleep again, he call'd for Perſons to read by him or entertain him with diſcourſe, till he fell into a ſlumber which laſted till after break of day; nor would he ever lye awake in the dark without ſome body ſitting by him. If he could not ſleep in the morning he was much diſcompos'd all the day after. And if his Affairs or Devotions conſtrain'd him to wake more early than ordinary, that he might not ſuffer any inconvenience thereby, he repos'd in the next Chamber where any of his Servants lay. And many times finding himſelf drowſie indeed, as he was carry'd along in the Streets, he would cauſe his Litter to be ſet down, and fetch out the reſt of his ſleep.

79. The Features of his Countenance were moſt graceful and full of Majeſty, and ſo continu'd through all the Degrees of Age, tho ſo careleſs of all manner of Ornamental Curioſity, and ſo negligent in trimming his Hair, that of a ſudden he made uſe of ſeveral Barbers together, and ſometimes clipt, ſometimes ſhav'd his Beard, and at the ſame time would be either reading or writing. In his Countenance, whether ſpeaking or ſilent, he had always ſuch a calmneſs and ſerenity, that one of the Chief Princes of the *Gaules* confeſs'd to his Friends, that it was that alone which mollifi'd him and diverted

him from a resolute design to have thrown him headlong down a steep Precipice, as he was passing the Alpes, being admitted to come near his Person under pretence of private Discourse. His Eyes were bright and sparkling, which made him desirous that People should believe there was in them something of Divine Vivacity; and he would be extreamly pleas'd, to observe, that when he fix'd his Eyes stedfastly upon any, the same Person look'd downward, as Men do that are dazl'd with the brightness of the Son Beams. However in his latter days the sight of his left Eye fail'd him; his Teeth were thin, small and rugged; his Hair somewhat curling, and inclining to yellow; his Eyebrows met upon his Fore-head; his Ears small; his Nose somewhat raised at the top, and wider toward the bottom; his Complexion between brown and white; his Stature low (tho *Marathus*, his Freed-man, asserts in the Memorials of his Life, that he was Five Foot and nine Inches high) which however was not discernable, by reason of the just Proportion of his Limbs, unless some other Person that was much taller stood by him.

80. He is reported to have had Freckles upon his Body, with several more observable Marks dispers'd upon his Breast and Belly, representing the Figure, Order and Number of the Stars in the Constellation of the Celestial Bear. He had also certain Callosities about him, proceeding from the itching of his Body, and the continual use of the * *Strigil*, which shew'd themselves in the form of a Tetter. He seem'd to have a weakness in his left Hip, Thigh, and Leg, which caus'd him often to go lamish; but he

* *The* Strigil *was a certain Instrument made use of to scrape off the sweat and filth of the body in the Baths.*

he recover'd his ſtrength by hot Fomentations of Sand, and application of Reeds. He alſo found ſuch a weakneſs in the fore Finger of his right hand, that when it was numm'd and contracted with cold, he could hardly hold his Pen with the help of a Horn Ring. He complain'd likewiſe of a pain in his Bladder, which ceas'd upon his voiding ſmall quantites of Gravel with his Urine.

81. He had ſeveral, and thoſe deſperate Fits of ſickneſs, more eſpecially after his Conqueſt of *Cantabria*, at what time his Liver being vitiated with Diſtillations, he was reduc'd to a very deſperate Condition, and forc'd to undergo a quite contrary and dangerous method of Cure: For finding that hot Fomentations nothing avail'd, by the preſcription of *Antonius Muſa*, he made uſe of cold, and recover'd. He was alſo ſubject to other annual Diſtempers that ſeiz'd him at certain Seaſons: For upon the approach of his Birth day, he was for the moſt part very weak and out of order: at the beginning of ſpring he was troubled with the Spleen; and when the Southern Winds blew, with a ſtuffing in his Head; by which means his Body being ſhatter'd and diſcompos'd, he could not well endure the Extremities either of cold or heat.

82. In the Winter to defend himſelf from the Cold he wore no leſs than four Tunicks, with a Gown very thick, a Flannel Stomacher upon his Breaſt, with Woollen Rollers about his Thighs and Legs. In the Summer, he lay with his Chamber Doors open, and ſometimes under a Penthouſe, with Water-works bubling up round about him, and ſome body ſtanding by

to fan him. Not being able to endure ſo much as the Winter Sun: he never walk'd out into the Air when he was at home, but with a broad brimm'd Hat upon his Head. He travell'd in his Litter, and for the moſt part in the Night time, and but very ſhort Journeys, ſo that he would be * two days going to *Preneſte* or *Tibur*; tho if he could go by Sea he never car'd to travel by Land. But if his Infirmities were ſo great, his particular care of himſelf was no leſs, refraining more eſpecially from Bathing, as not proper for him. However he was frequently anointed; and when he ſweat, it was in a Stove; after which, he was waſh'd with Water warm'd over the Fire, or elſe by the heat of the Sun. But when for the ſtrengthning of his Nerves he was forc'd to make uſe of Sea Brine, or the Sulphury Waters of † *Albulæ*, he thought it ſufficient to ſit in a Wooden Chair, which he call'd by a *Spaniſh* Name *Dureta*, and ſo to plunge ſometimes one Hand, ſometimes the other down to his Feet by Turns.

* *Which is ſomewhat more than twelve Miles a day; for* Præneſte, *now* Paleſtrina, *is not above* 24 *Miles, and* Tibur, *now* Tivoli, *not above* 16 *Miles from* Rome.

† *Now* Bagni di Tivoli.

83. After his Civil Wars were at an end, he gave over his Military Exerciſes of riding and handling his Arms in the Field of *Mars*; and betook himſelf to Tennis or Stool-Ball in lieu of them: ſoon after he did nothing but ride in his Chariot and walk; yet not ſo, but that when he had driven as far as he intended, he would alight, and run jumping and skipping ſuch a length as he thought convenient, wrapt up in a kind of Linnen Sheet, or elſe in a Blanket. For the Recreation of his Mind, he would ſometimes angle by the River ſide; at other

other times he would play at Dice, Cockall, and at Cobnut with little Children, which he caus'd to be fought for the moſt lovely and graceful for their Faces, and pratling Tongues, to be his Play-fellows, eſpeciall *Moores* and *Syrians*: but as for Dwarfes, and ſuch as were any way crooked, miſhapen or disfigur'd, he altogether abhor'd them, as the ſport of Nature and Ominous.

84. From his Childhood he apply'd himſelf with great labour and induſtry to the Study of Eloquence and the Liberal Arts. During the War of *Modena*, notwithſtanding the weight of Buſineſs that was upon him, he is ſaid to have wrote, read, and declaim'd every day. After that, he never ſpoke in the Senate, to the People or the Soldiers, but what was premeditated and compos'd before hand; tho' he never was unfurniſh'd at any time to ſpeak *extempore* upon any occaſion. Moreover leſt his Memory ſhould fail or he ſpend too much time in getting his Speeches by heart, he brought up a Cuſtom to read within Book whatever he had to ſay. His private Diſcourſes with his particular Friends, even with *Livia* her ſelf, if the Occaſion were very ſerious, he always put down in writing and ſpoke out of his Table Book, for fear he ſhould ſpeak either too much or too little *extempore*. His pronunciation was very graceful, and the tone of his Voice moſt pleaſing; beſides that he had a Maſter to teach him the Management of Speech. But ſometimes when he was troubl'd with any Rheum or hoarſeneſs, the Publick Crier read his Oration by his Order to the People.

85. He compos'd ſeveral Treatiſes upon various Subjects in Proſe, of which he rehears'd ſome at an Aſſembly of his familiar Friends, as it had been before a publick Auditory; *as his Anſwer to* Brutus *concerning* Cato. Of which Volumes, after he had read the greateſt part in his declining years, being at length grown weary with reading, he deliver'd the Remainder to *Tiberius*, for him to recite. He alſo wrote *Exhortations to Philoſophy, and ſome Commentaries concerning his own Life*, in Thirteen Books, as far as the *Cantabrian* War, but no farther. With Poetry he did but ſuperficially concern himſelf; yet there is extant one Poem by him written in Hexameter Verſe, of which the Title and Subject is *Sicilia*. There is alſo extant another Book of *Epigrams*, much about the ſame bigneſs, which he compos'd for the moſt part when he was bathing himſelf. Having begun a Tragedy in a very lofty ſtrain and finding he could not go on in the ſame Stile, he expung'd what he had written. Upon which his Friends asking him, *What* Ajax *was a doing?* he made anſwer, *That* * Ajax *had fallen upon a Sponge.*

* *Alluding to* Ajax's *falling upon his Sword when he ſlew himſelf.*

86. He obſerv'd an Elegant and eaſie Stile, avoiding impertinence and incongruity in his Sentences, and the *noiſomneſs*, as he calls it, of obſolete and difficult Words; and he made it his chief care to expreſs his meaning as plainly as he could. Which that he might the more eaſily do, and neither detain nor confound his Reader, he never ſcrupl'd to add prepoſitions to Words, or to make frequent repetitions of Conjunctions, which being omitted obſcure the Diſcourſe, though they contribute Ornament to the Stile. Thoſe that affected bombaſt Lan-

guage,

guage, and ſuch as pleas'd themſelves with antiquated Words that few underſtood, he equally contemn'd. More eſpecially ſometimes he laugh'd at his Friend *Mecenas*, whom he perſecutes for his μυρεψικὰς *cincinnos*, or Curles beſmear'd with pretious Unguents, and many times imitated his Expreſſions to make himſelf ſport. Nor would he ſpare *Tiberius* hunting after obſcure and obſolete Phraſes. *M. Antonius* alſo he reprehended for a Mad-man, as one who wrote rather to be admir'd than underſtood. Then drolling upon his bad and inconſtant Judgement in the choice of his Stile, he adds this farther: *And are you ſtill in* * *doubt whether* Cimber Annius, *or* Veranius Flaccus *are proper for your Imitation? Or whether it may be lawful for you to make uſe of the words which* C. Saluſtius *has ſelected out of* Cato's Origenes? *Or rather whether volubility of Words be to be tranſlated into our Language from the empty Sentences of the* Aſiatick *Orators?* And in a certain Epiſtle commending the Wit of his Grand-daughter *Agrippina*; *But it is requiſite*, ſays he, *for thee to take care of being troubleſom and impertinent either in writing or ſpeaking.* That he made uſe of ſome Expreſſions frequently and remarkably in his daily Diſcourſe, is apparent by his Letters under his own hand; wherein when he hinted at ſome that would never pay their Debts, 'twas uſual for him to ſay, they would pay in the *Græcian Kalends*. When he exhorted any Perſon to be content with his preſent Condition, whatever it were, he was wont to ſay, *Let us be content with this* * Cato. And to expreſs the ſwiftneſs and expedition wherewith any Action was perform'd, he would ſay, *'Twas done before you could*

* *That is, if we cannot have that* Cato *who was ſo excellent a Perſon, let us be content with ſuch a one as we can get.*

could boile a hundred of Sparagus. He frequently us'd the word *Bateolum* for a Fool; and *Pulleiaceum* for *Pullus* a Colt: For *Ceritus*, *Vacerrosus*; *Vapide se habere* instead of *Male*: *Betissare* for *Langere*, commonly expreſt by the Word *Lachaniſſare*: Alſo *Simus* for *Sumus*; and *Domos* in the Genitive Caſe ſingular for *Domus*. Nor did he ever alter his Pronunciation of the two laſt Words, leſt it ſhould be thought rather a fault in him than a Cuſtom. I have alſo taken particular notice of one thing in his Hand-writing, that he never divided his Words, nor brought the redundant Letters from the end of the one Line into the next, but ſet them down underneath in a kind of a * *Parentheſis*. For Example,

Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatriis ſatis, ju-
(cunde
Egimus———

88. He never was over Curious in the obſervation of his Orthography, according to the Method and Rules of the *Grammarians*, but ſeem'd rather to be of their Opinion, who believe that Men ought to write as they ſpeak. For his frequent Tranſpoſition or Omiſſion not only of Letters but of Syllables alſo, is a common miſtake amongſt moſt Men: Nor ſhould I have taken notice of it, but that it ſeems ſtrange to me what ſome have reported, that he appointed a Succeſſour to a Conſular Lieutenant, whom he lookt upon as an illiterate and ignorant Perſon, becauſe he found written under his hand *Ixi* inſtead of *Ipſi*. When he had a mind to write in Characters, he put *b* for *a*; *c* for *b*; and ſo forward to the end of the Alphabet, and for *z* double *aa*.

89. Nor was he leſs ſtudiouſly addicted to the *Græcian*

Græcian Learning, wherein he arriv'd to a very conſiderable perfection, having for his Maſter in Rhetorick *Apollodorus Pergamenus*, whom in his old Age, when he was himſelf but yet a Youth, he carry'd along with him from the City to *Apollonia*. Afterwards well freighted with the various Learning of *Sphærus*, he enter'd into an Intimate Society with *Areus* the Philoſopher, and his two Sons *Dionyſius* and *Nicanor*: Yet not ſo, as that he durſt preſume to ſpeak or compoſe any thing in the *Greek* Language readily. For what the occaſion requir'd he ſet down in *Latin*, and gave it to another to be tranſlated. And as he was a lover of Poetry in general, ſo was he greatly delighted with the ancient Comedies, which he often caus'd to be acted at his Publick Shews. In his reading the Authors of both Languages, his chiefeſt Obſervation was, what Precepts and Examples he could collect, as well for private as publick uſe; all which he wrote out word for word, and ſent them either to his Domeſtick Servants, to his Generals or Governours of Provinces, or to the City Magiſtrates, as he thought they ſeverally wanted Inſtruction. Sometimes alſo he recited whole Books to the Senate, and publiſh'd them by Edict among the People; as the Orations of *Q. Metellus, concerning the increaſe of Off-ſpring*; and thoſe of *Rutilius, of the Method of Building*: Thereby to convince the *Romans*, that he was not the firſt that offer'd thoſe things to their Conſideration, but that their Forefathers had had the ſame deſign. The Wits of the Age he cheriſh'd and encouraged all manner of ways. Such as recited their works he both curteouſly and patiently heard, whether Poems or Hiſtories,

ries, whether Orations or Dialogues. But he was offended to have any thing compos'd of himſelf, unleſs it were very ſerious, and by the moſt famous for Learning and Judgment. And he fore-warn'd the Prætors not to ſuffer his Name to be made common in the uſual Emulations of the Poets.

90. As for his Religion we find theſe Characters given of him. Thunder and Lightning he dreaded ſo puſillanimouſly, that for his ſecurity he always carry'd a Seal Skin along with him wherever he went; and upon the leaſt apprehenſion of a Thundring Tempeſt he betook himſelf preſently to ſome Cellar or Arched Vault, having been formerly terrifi'd with a Flaſh of Lightning as he travell'd in the Night.

91. He never neglected his own nor the Dreams of any other concerning himſelf: therefore at the Battel of *Philippi*, though he had reſolv'd not to ſtir out of his Tent by reaſon of his Illneſs; nevertheleſs upon one of his Friends telling him his Dream he went forth, and it fell out luckily for him; for his Camp being taken by the Enemy they fell upon his Bed, and as if he had been lying in it they run their Swords through it, and cut it to pieces. All the Spring time he was troubl'd with many and terrible Viſions, but vain and frivolous; all the reſt of the year he ſaw fewer, but more pertinent. It being his Cuſtom frequently to viſit the Temple Conſecrated in the Capitol to *Jupiter* the Thunderer, he dreamt how *Jupiter Capitolinus* complain'd that his Adorers were ſeduc'd away from him; to which he anſwer'd, *That he had plac'd the Thunderer by him to be his Porter*: And upon this he caus'd a great number

number of little Bells to be hung up round the top of the Temple, in regard it was the Custom to hang up Bells over the Portals of great Mens Houſes. By the Admonition of a Nocturnal Viſion alſo, he was wont every year upon a certain day, to beg an * Alms of the People, holding forth the Hollow of his Hand to receive their ſingle Money.

* *For Atonement of the Goddeſs* Nemeſis.

92. Some certain Auguries taken from the flight and chattering of Birds, and ſome ſort of Omens he took to be infallible. For Example, if his Shooes were given him wrong in the Morning, or that he chanc'd to put on the Right Shooe for the Left, this he counted moſt direly Ominous. If it happen'd to mizzle upon his taking a long Voyage by Sea, or a long Journey by Land, that he lookt upon as a happy Omen of a ſpeedy and proſperous Return. But Prodigies terrifi'd him more than any thing; for obſerving a Palm-tree to grow forth from between the cloſures of the Stones in the fore part of his Houſe, he order'd it to be tranſplanted under the Penthouſe where ſtood his Houſhold Gods, and took great care to have it grow in the ſame place. He was ſo overjoy'd to hear that the Boughs of an old Elm, that hung down to the Ground, and were almoſt dead, reviv'd upon his coming to the Iſland of *Capreæ*, that he exchang'd it with the *Neapolitan* Republick, for that of † *Anaria*. He was ſo ſuperſtitious an Obſerver of ſome days, that he would never undertake any Journey the next day after the *Nundinæ*, or begin any ſerious Buſineſs upon the *Nones* of a Month; for no other Reaſon, as he wrote to *Tiberius*, but to avoid the ill Report of unluckineſs that lyes upon the Name.

† *Now* Iſchia.

93. As

93. As to what concern'd Foreign Ceremonies, as he was a moſt exact obſerver of thoſe which were ancient and by Law enjoyn'd, ſo he contemn'd and ſlighted all the reſt. For being initiated at *Athens*, when afterwards at *Rome* he took Cognizance of the Priviledge of the Prieſts of *Attic Ceres*, at what time ſome more ſecret Myſteries were propounded, diſmiſſing the Council and the croud of Byſtanders, he alone heard the Contenders on both ſides. On the other ſide in his Progreſs over *Ægypt*, he not only forbore to ride never ſo little out of his way to viſit the Temple of *Apis*, but commended his Nephew *Caius*, for that he in his March through *Judæa*, had not ſtopt to make any Supplications at *Jeruſalem*.

94. And becauſe we are now upon this Subject, it will not be amiſs to interweave thoſe Omens that foreboded his future Grandeur and perpetual Felicity, not only before he was born, but upon the very Day of his Nativity and ſo forward. At * *Velitræ*, part of the Wall being thrown down by Lightning from Heaven, and the Conſulted Oracle having thereupon return'd for anſwer, that a Native of that City ſhould one day Govern the World, the *Velitrines* in confidence of this Propheſie, not only then, but ſeveral times afterwards, obſtinately engag'd in various Wars with the People of *Rome*, almoſt to their utter Ruin; but at length, and when it was almoſt too late, they found by woful experience, that the Prodigy portended only the Power of *Auguſtus*. *Julius Marathus* alſo relates, that ſome few Months before he was born, there happen'd a publick Prodigy at *Rome*, by which it was denounc'd that

* *Now* Velitri, 20 *Miles from* Rome *under the Juriſdiction of the Pope, and an Epiſcopal See.*

* Nature

* Nature her ſelf was at that time Big with a Prince of the *Roman* People. With which the Senate being terrifi'd made a Decree, that no Male Infant born that year ſhould be reſerv'd for Education; and that thereupon, ſuch Perſons whoſe Wives were with Child at the ſame time, and apply'd the Propheſie every one to their own Iſſue, took care that the Propheſie ſhould not be regiſter'd in the publick Treaſury. I read in the Writings of *Aſclepias* concerning the Gods that were Worſhip'd at † *Mendes*, That *Atia*, coming at Midnight to the Solemnities perform'd in honour of *Apollo*, and bringing her Litter into the Temple, while the reſt of the Matrons only ſlumber'd, fell into a profound ſleep; at what time a Dragon of a ſudden crept to her Couch, and preſently return'd again; upon which awaking as it were from the Embraces of her Husband ſhe purifi'd her ſelf; and immediately ſhe found a Mole in her body reſembling the Picture of a Dragon, which becauſe it could never be got out, ſhe ever afterwards abſtain'd from going into the publick Baths. That *Auguſtus* was born in the Tenth Month after this accident, and for that Reaſon thought to be the Son of *Apollo*. The ſame *Atia*, before ſhe was brought to bed, had a Dream that her Bowels were carry'd up to the Stars, and expanded through the whole Circuit of the Earth and Skies. His Father *Octavius* alſo dreamt that a Beam of the Sun ſhot forth *Atia*'s Womb. Upon the day that he was born, the Senate being met in deep Conſultation about *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, and *Octavius* coming late by reaſon of his Wives being

* *But others will have this Prodigy relate to the Birth of Chriſt, the Lord of the whole World.*

† *A City of Ægypt, where Apis was Worſhip'd, as Plutarch teſtifies in his Iſis.*

being in Labour, it is a thing commonly known and without diſpute, that *P. Nigidius* underſtanding the cauſe of his delay, ſo ſoon as he had learnt the Hour of the Ladies Delivery, affirm'd that the Lord of the Earth was born. Afterwards when *Octavius* led his Army through the Solitudes of *Thrace*, and in a Grove Conſecrated to Father *Bacchus*, Conſulted the Oracle after the manner of the *Barbarians*, the ſame thing was affirm'd by the Prieſts; at what time when the Wine was pour'd forth upon the Altars, there burſt out ſuch a prodigious Flame, that not only blaz'd up above the top of the Temple, but was carry'd to the very Heaven it ſelf. A Portent like to which never ſhew'd it ſelf to any Perſon in the World before, but only to *Alexander* the Great Sacrificing at the ſame Altars. And the next night he thought he ſaw his Son in Stature above human Form, with Thunder-bolts, a Scepter, and the Spoils of *Jupiter*, Crown'd with a *Glory* of Beams, and ſitting in a Triumphant Chariot, drawn by ſix Horſes of an extraordinary Whiteneſs. While he was yet an Infant, as the Writing teſtifies yet extant with *C. Druſus*, being in the Evening lay'd by his Nurſe to ſleep in his Cradle, the next morning he was miſſing, till after long ſearch he was found in a very high Tower, lying juſt againſt the Sun-riſe. When he begun firſt to ſpeak, he commanded the Frogs, which accidentally made a noiſe in his Hereditary Meads in the Suburbs, to be ſilent; ſince which time the Frogs were never heard to Croak in thoſe Grounds. About four Miles from the City in the Rode to *Campania*, of a ſudden an Eagle ſnatch'd a piece of Bread out of his Hand,

Hand, and ſoaring to a vaſt hight, as unexpectedly and gently ſtooping reſtor'd it him again. *Q. Catulus* after the Conſecration of the Capitol dreamt for two Nights together; the firſt Night, that *Jupiter* among ſeveral young Children that were playing about the Altar, cull'd out one, and put into his Boſom the Signet of the Commonwealth which he carry'd in his hand. The next Night, that he obſerv'd the ſame Child in the Lap of *Jupiter Capitoline*; whom when he commanded to be taken away, he was admoniſh'd by the Deity to let him alone, as one that was bred up for the ſafeguard of the Commonweal. And the day following meeting *Auguſtus*, at that time unknown to him, and beholding him with aſtoniſhment, he affirm'd him to reſemble the Child of whom he had dreamt. Some there are who relate the firſt Dream of *Catulus* after another manner, as if *Jupiter* upon the requeſt of ſeveral Children to chooſe them a Tutor, ſhould ſhew them one of their number, to whom all their deſires and wiſhes ſhould tend; and ſo ſaying, after he had ſtretch'd forth his Hand for the Child to kiſs, he lay'd the kiſs'd Hand to his own Lips. *Cicero* following *Cæſar* into the Capitol, related to his Acquaintance by the way a dream that he had had the night before, That he ſaw a Child of a lovely Countenance, which was ſent from Heaven, with a Golden Chain ſtanding at the Door of the Capitol, to whom *Jupiter* deliver'd a Whip; after which of a ſudden beholding *Auguſtus*, whom *Cæſar* had ſent for to the Sacrifice, as yet unknown to moſt, he affirm'd him to be the Child, whoſe likeneſs had appear'd to him in

his

his ſleep. When he firſt put on the Gown of Manhood, his *Tunick* with broad Purple Studs, being unbutton'd on both ſides, fell down to his Feet, which ſome interpreted to ſignifie, that the Order, of which that Garment was only a Badge, ſhould one day be in ſubjection to him. Another time, when *Julius* had made choice of a Place to encamp his Army neer *Munda*, while his Men were cutting down a Wood, he commanded a Palm Tree that was found among the reſt, to be left ſtanding as an Omen of Victory. From this Tree immediately there ſprung up a young Shoot, which in a few days grew ſo faſt, as not only to equal, but to overſhadow it, and to be frequented with Doves that built their Néſts in the Branches, though they are a ſort of Birds that generally ſhun a hard and prickly Leaf. And they report, that *Cæſar* chiefly mov'd with that Portent, reſolv'd that no other Perſon ſhould ſucceed him but his Siſters Nephew. In his Retirement to *Apollonia*, he was perſwaded to walk up accompany'd by *Agrippa* into the Study of *Theogenes* the *Mathematician*, at the top of his Houſe: At what time when great and almoſt incredible things were foretold in favour of *Agrippa*, who was the firſt that conſulted his Fortune, he abſolutely refus'd to diſcover his own Nativity, out of fear and ſhame leſt he ſhould be found the meaner of the two; but at length after great Importunity, with great difficulty and after a long delay, being prevail'd with to make it known, *Theogenes* leap'd out of his Chair and ador'd him. Soon after *Auguſtus* became ſo confident of his Fate, that he divulg'd the Poſition of the Stars at his Nativi-

ty,

ty, and Coin'd Silver Money with the Impreſſion of *Capricorn*, under which Conſtellation he was born.

95. After the Murder of *Cæſar*, upon his return from *Apollonia*, and his Entrance into the City, of a ſudden when the Skie was all ſerene and calm, a Circle reſembling the Rain-bow ſurrounded the Orb of the Sun; and by and by the Monument of *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s Daughter, was ſtruck with Thunder. In his firſt Conſulſhip alſo, as he was ſitting Candidate the Night before the Election, in expectation of a * proſperous Augurie, twelve Vulturs ſhew'd themſelves to him, as formerly they did to *Romulus*. And as he was Sacrificing, the Livers of all the Victims appear'd double within ſide from the lowermoſt fiber; none of the moſt Skilful Augurs otherwiſe conjecturing but that moſt Fortunate and great Succeſſes were thereby portended.

* *Candidates were ſaid to* Conſult the Augury, *when the Night before the Election they lay under the open Skie without the City, then placing themſelves in a ſolid Chair in a place deſign'd for that purpoſe, they ſate till the Deity ſent them ſome proſperous Sign.*

96. Moreover there was ſomething that foretold him the Event of all his Wars. The Forces of the *Triumvirs* being all randevouz'd together at *Bononia*, an Eagle hovering over his Tent, perſecuted two Crows that flutter'd too and fro, and made a vile noiſe in the ſame place; and at length ſtrook them both to the Earth. Upon which the whole Army obſerv'd, that there would be a Quarrel among the Collegues, ſuch a one as afterwards happen'd, and preſag'd the Event. At *Philippi*, a certain *Theſſalian* brought him News of his future Victory, upon the Relation of *Julius Cæſar*, whoſe Reſemblance had met him in a by Rode. Near *Peruſium*,

the firſt Sacrifice not proving propitious, he had commanded the Victims to be multiply'd; but the Enemy making a ſudden Sally, took the whole Preparation for the Ceremony. Upon which it was the Opinion of the Soothſayers, that what ever was denounc'd to be dangerous and unfortunate to the Sacrificer, would all light upon thoſe who had the Entrails in poſſeſſion, and ſo it fell out. The day before he engag'd his Enemy in the *Sicilian* Sea, as he was walking upon the Shore, a Fiſh leap'd out of the Sea, and lay at his Feet. As he was going to Embark, and order his Navy for the Battel of *Actium*, a little Aſs and its Driver met him; the Drivers name was *Eutychus*, or Fortunate, and the Aſſe's Name *Nicon*, or Victorious. Whereupon when he had vanquiſh'd his Adverſary, he ſet up a Brazen Statue of Both in the Temple which he built, in the place where he had Encamped his Army.

97. His Death alſo, of which I am to ſpeak from henceforward, and his Divinity after death were foretold by moſt Evident Signs. One time that he was deſigning a Luſtration of the City in the midſt of a great Concourſe of People in the Field of *Mars*, an Eagle flew round about him ſeveral times, and ſo gliding to the next Temple, lighted upon the Name of *Agrippa*, and fix'd his Claws upon the firſt Letter; which being by him obſerv'd, he commanded his Colleague *Tiberius* to name the Vows and Prayers which cuſtomarily are to be made to the Gods during the next Luſter. For though the Tables wherein the Vows and Prayers were written, were already prepar'd and ſign'd, he refus'd to undertake what he ſhould

ſhould not be able to perform. About the ſame time the firſt Letter of his Name dropt out of the Inſcription of his Statue after a Clap of Thunder. The anſwer was, that he ſhould not live above a hunder'd days, the Letter C being the Character of that Number: However that he ſhould be tranſlated into the number of the Gods, in regard that *Æſar*, which was the remaining part of *Cæſar*, in the *Hetrurian* Language ſignifi'd a King. Being therefore about to ſend *Tiberius* into *Illyricum*, and reſolving to accompany him as far as *Beneventum*, finding himſelf ſtopp'd by crouds of Sollicitors that beſought him to diſpatch their Cauſes before he went, he cry'd out, and it was number'd among the ill Omens that attended him, *That though all the buſineſs in the World ſtay'd for him, he would never ſee* Rome *more*. And ſo ſetting forward, he rode directly to *Aſtura*; and thence by Reaſon of the bad Air he poſted away the ſame Night, contrary to his Cuſtom of ſlow Travelling.

98. The cauſe of his diſeaſe proceeded from a Looſeneſs: Then viſiting the Shore of *Campania* and the neighbouring Iſlands, he reſted four days at *Capreæ*, abandoning himſelf to leiſure and all manner of chearfulneſs and Affability. At what time accidentally happening to ride along the Bay of *Puteoli*, the Freighters and Mariners of a Veſſel of *Alexandria*, that was but juſt as it were arriv'd in Port, clad in white Veſtments, with Garlands upon their Heads, and Offering Frankincenſe loaded him with proſperous Wiſhes and high Applauſes, crying out, *That by him they liv'd, by him they ſayl'd, by him they enjoy'd their Liberty and their*

Fortunes. Which accident chear'd and reviv'd his Spirits in ſuch a manner, that he divided Four hunder'd Crowns in Gold among his Attendants; withal requiring an Oath and Security from every particular Perſon, that the ſum ſo beſtow'd ſhould not be expended but in the purchaſe of the Wares of *Alexandria.* The reſt of the days which he ſpent in that place, he made a diſtribution of Coats and Cloaks over and above; with this condition, that the *Romans* ſhould make uſe of the *Græcian*, the *Græcians* of the *Roman* both Habit and Speech. He was alſo very diligent in beholding the Exerciſes of the Youth under Fourteen years of age, of which there was yet remaining at *Capreæ* a good number, according to the ancient Inſtitution. He alſo beſtow'd a Banquet upon them in his Preſence, with Liberty of raillery and jeaſting permitted or rather exacted, and of ſcrambling for Apples and Victuals, and other things uſually ſent from the Table by the Gueſts to their abſent Friends: in ſhort, he refrain'd from no ſort of Sport and Jocundry. He call'd the Iſland adjoyning to *Capreæ* Ἀπραγόπολιν, a City abandon'd to Idleneſs, by reaſon of the ſloath of thoſe that retir'd thither out of his Train. Moreover he was wont to call * *Maſgabas*, one of his beloved Friends Κτίστης or the Builder, as if he had been Builder of the Iſland. And obſerving from his Dining Room Window a great reſort of People to the Tomb of this ſame *Maſgabas*, and many Lamps flaming upon his Monument, he utter'd aloud this Verſe *extempore.*

* Auguſtus *purchas'd the Iſland of* Capreæ *from the* Neopolitans, *and reſolving to repleniſh it with Inhabitants, employ'd* Maſgabas *one of his choiceſt Friends to manage that buſineſs, for which reaſon, he calls him in jeaſt the Builder of the Iſland.*

Κτίστη

Κάτω δ' τύμβον ἐσορῶ πυρούμενον.

All in a Flame I ſee the Builders Tomb.

And then turning to *Thraſyllus* the Companion of *Tiberius*, lying at the Table right over againſt him, and ignorant of his meaning, he ask'd him, What Poet he thought made that Verſe? Upon which perceiving *Thraſyllus* at a Nonplus, he added another,

Ὁρᾷς φάεσι Μασγάβαν πυρούμενον.

Doſt thou not ſee the lighted Tapers blaze
In honour of entombed Maſgabas?

And then ask'd him again, whom he thought to be the Author of that? To which when *Thraſyllus* made no other anſwer then only this, That whoever was the Author, they were both the beſt that ever were; the Emperor burſt out into a loud laughter, and all diſſolv'd himſelf into the freedom of quaint merriment. Afterwards he croſs'd over to *Naples*, tho' then his Bowels were weak through the various working of the Diſtemper; nevertheleſs he was preſent at the *Quinquennial* wreſtling Games, which were Inſtituted to his Honour; and thence accompany'd *Tiberius* to the Place appointed. But in his return, perceiving the Diſtemper grow upon him, at length he betook himſelf to his Bed at *Nola*; whither he recall'd *Tiberius* from his Journey, and detain'd him long by his Bed-ſide in private Diſcourſe, neither after that did he apply his Mind to any buſineſs of Moment. The laſt day often enquiring whether there were any diſturbance abroad among the Peo-

ple inquiſitive after his Life or Death, he call'd for a Looking glaſs, and order'd his Hair to be comb'd, and his falling Jaws to be decently compos'd. And then asking his Friends that were admitted, *Whether it did not ſeem to them that he had properly acted the Mimic of Life*, he added this little Clauſe,

Δότε κρότον, καὶ πάντες ὑμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς κροτήσατε.

Spectators clap your hands, and with a ſound
Of joy all Feet together beat upon the Ground.

Then diſmiſſing all the Company, while he was enquiring of thoſe that came from the City, in what Condition the Daughter of *Druſus* was, who then lay ſick, of a ſudden in the midſt of *Livia's* Kiſſes, and with theſe Words in his Mouth he expir'd, *Live* Livia *mindful of our Wedlock, and farewell*; making an eaſie Exit, and ſuch a one as always he deſir'd. For generally, when ever he heard of any one that dy'd quickly and without any torment, he would earneſtly wiſh both for himſelf and his, the ſame eaſie way of dying, which he call'd *Euthanaſia*.

100. Nor could he be ſaid to have ſhew'd any more than one only ſign of any Delirium or depravation of his Senſes, and that was, when ſuddenly ſtarting out of his ſleep, he complain'd that he was cary'd away by forty young Men. Which indeed was rather a Preſage than a defect of Senſe, in regard that the ſame number of *Pretorian* Soldiers bore him upon their Shoulders when firſt carry'd out of his Houſe to his Funeral. He dy'd in the ſame Bed wherein his Father *Octavius* expir'd: *Sextus Pompeius*

Pompeius and *S. Appuleius* being Conſuls, the Fourteenth of the Kalends of *September*, the Ninth hour of the day, and in the Seventy ſixth year of his Age, wanting five and thirty days. His Body was carry'd by the chief Burgeſſes of the *Municipal* Towns and Colonies from *Nola* to *Bovillæ*; and that chiefly in the Night time, by reaſon of the Seaſon of the year; for which reaſon they reſted in the day time, and plac'd it either in the Town Houſes or largeſt of the Sacred Temples belonging to the Burrough. At *Bovillæ* the *Equeſtrian* Order took up the Corps, and having born it to the City, ſet it down at the Porch of his own Houſe. The Senate at the ſame time, both for the ſetting forth the Pomp of the Funeral, as in ſeeking which way to Eterniſe his Memory, ſtrove to out-vie one another with that eager ſtudy and diligence, that among many other things ſome propounded, that the Funeral ſhould proceed in State through the Triumphal Gate, the Statue of Victory being carry'd before, which ſtands in the *Julian* Court, while all the Noblemens Children of both Sexes ſang the Dirges. Others, that upon the day when the Obſequies were perform'd, the Nobility and Gentry ſhould lay aſide their Gold-Rings, and put on others of Iron: Some, that the deceaſed Emperors Bones ſhould be gather'd together by the Prieſts of the Chief Colledges. One there was, who would have perſwaded the Senate to have alter'd the Names of the Months, and that *Auguſt* ſhould be call'd *September*; becauſe that in *September* *Auguſtus* was born, but dy'd in *Auguſt*. Another, that all the time from the Birth of the Emperor to

his deceaſe, ſhould be call'd the *Auguſt Age*, and ſo be recorded in the *Faſti*. But after a mitigation of theſe Honours, two Declamations were made in his Praiſe; the firſt before the Temple of *Julius* by *Tiberius*; the ſecond before the new *Roſtra*, call'd *Roſtra ſub Veteribus*, by *Druſus*, the Son of *Tiberius*, and ſo born upon the Shoulders of Senators into the *Field of Mars*, where he was burnt: Nor was there wanting a Perſon of *Prætorian* Order, who ſwore that he ſaw the Effigies of him that was burnt aſcending into Heaven. His Aſhes, or rather the remaining Particles of his Bones, were gather'd together by the chief of the *Equeſtrian Order*, in their cloſe Coats, ungirt and bareſoot, and then depoſited in the *Mauſoleum*: Which Monument *Auguſtus* himſelf had rear'd in his ſixth Conſulſhip between the *Flaminian* High-way, and the Bank of *Tiber*; and had Proclaim'd the Woods and Walks round about it to be for the uſe of the People.

101. His Laſt Will and Teſtament was produc'd by the Veſtal Virgins with whom it was depoſited, together with three other Rolls all ſeal'd up alike. Which Will he had made in the Conſulſhips of *L. Plancus*, and *C. Silius*, the Third of the *Nones* of *April*, a Year and four Months before his death; of which there were two Copies written partly with his own hand, partly by his two Freedmen *Polybius* and *Hilarion*: all which were open'd and read in the Senate. For his Heirs he left in the firſt place *Tiberius*, to whom he bequeath'd a half, and a ſixth part; then *Livia*, to whom he gave a third part, and order'd both to bear his own Name. In the ſecond place, *Druſus* the Son of *Tiberius*, his Heir of a third part

part of his Goods; and of the remaining parts *Germanicus* and his three Male Children. In the third Degree were ſeveral of his Kindred and Friends, to whom he bequeath'd ſeveral Legacies. To the People of *Rome* he left Ten hunderd thouſand Crowns: To the Tribes Eighty ſeven thouſand five hunderd Crowns: To the *Coborts*, of which there were four, a thouſand Pieces of Money each: To the City *Coborts* five hunder'd: To the *Legionaries* Three hunder'd Pieces of Money. Which Sum he order'd to be preſently paid; for that he had it by him in his Treaſury. The reſt of his Legacies he variouſly diſtributed; ſome of which he brought down to Five hunder'd Crowns, and not to be payd neither, till ſuch a time; for which he pleaded the ſmallneſs of his Paternal Revenue; proteſting withal that there would come no more to his Heirs than One and twenty hunder'd thouſand Crowns; though the laſt twenty years of his Reign he had receiv'd, as being left him by his Friends, no leſs than Three hunder'd and fifty hunder'd thouſand. All which together with two Paternal Patrimonies, and his other Inheritances he had brought low by his expences upon the Neceſſities of the Commonwealth. As for the two *Julia's*, his Daughter and Neece, when ever they ſhould happen to dye, he forbid their being lay'd in his Sepulchre. Of the three Rolls ſeal'd up as before mention'd; the firſt contain'd his Inſtructions and Orders in reference to his Funeral; the other a Catalogue of all the Exploits and Atchievments by him perform'd, which it was his deſire ſhould be engraven in Tables of Braſs, and ſet up before his Monument: The third

comprehended

comprehended a brief account of the State of the whole Empire, what Forces there were in every Province; what Money was in the Treasury; what was due by Confiscations and Forfeitures; and what Arrears of Tributes. To which he added the Names of his Freedmen and Servants, who might deservedly be call'd to account for several Misdemeanors and Exactions.

THE

TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR

W. Hollar. F.

THE LIFE OF TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR.

Done into *Engliſh* by Mr. *Hoy*, Fellow of St. *John's* Coll. *Oxon.*

1. THE Family of the *Claudii* amongſt the *Nobility* (for there was another of that Name among the *Commons* no leſs conſiderable, either for Power or Worth) had its Original from *Regillus*, a Town belonging to the *Sabines*. Thence, at the inſtance of *Titus Tatius*, Co-partner in the Government with *Romulus*, they came with a great many Adherents and Dependencies to people *Rome* then new built. Or indeed, which ſeems better warranted, about ſix years after the Expulſion of the *Kings*, they were by conſent of the Senate enrolled among the Nobility, *Atta Claudius* being then Head of the Family; the Country on the other ſide the *Anien* was given to his Followers, and a Burying Place aſſigned to himſelf near the *Capitol*. After this in courſe of time, there were of this Family *The Family of the Claudii.*

mily two and thirty *Conſuls*, five *Dictators*, ſeven *Cenſors*, ſeven who were honour'd with *Triumphs*, and two with *Orations*. Being by this time ſubdivided or *Cantoniz'd* into ſeveral Houſes, known by Titles of Diſtinction, or *Prænomina*, and Sirnames, or *Cognomina*, they by conſent for the future, declar'd againſt the *Prænomen Lucius*; becauſe two of that Name had been convicted, one of Robbery, and the other of Murder. They aſſum'd amongſt other Sirnames, that of *Nero*, which in the *Sabine* Tongue, imports as much as *Valiant* and *Strong*.

Their Exploits. 2. There are many extraordinary Services to the Publique aſcribed to the *Claudii* in Hiſtory, and likewiſe many things to their Diſadvantage. To ſpeak only of the moſt memorable, *Appius Cæcus* diſſwaded the Alliance with King *Pyrrhus*, as a thing of dangerous conſequence. *Claudius Caudex* tranſporting the Army into *Sicily*, drove the *Carthaginians* thence. *Claudius Nero* intercepted *Aſdrubal* on his Way from *Spain* with great Recruits, before *Hannibal* could come in to his Brothers Aſſiſtance. But then on the other hand, *Claudius Appius Regillanus*, one of the Ten Commiſſioners for the *Office of Records*, going about by force to reduce into Slavery a Virgin, who was a Gentlewoman born, for the Service of his Debauchery, by that means occaſion'd a ſecond Breach between the *Commons* and the *Nobility*. *Claudius Druſus* ſet up his own Statue with a Regal Crown upon it, in the Town call'd *Appi Forum*; thinking by the ſtrength of his own Intereſt and Party, to get the Government of *Italy* into his hands. *Claudius Pulcher*, before an Engage-

ment

ment in *Sicily*, when the *Chickens*, in the *Divination by Birds*, refus'd their Meat, in contempt of all Religion, order'd them to be thrown into the Sea, *that they might drink however, since they would not eat.* Being ſhamefully beat, the Senate requir'd him to nominate a *Dictator*, and he propos'd *Ilycias* his Serjeant or Meſſenger, making a kind of Mockery again at the publique Calamity. So alſo ſeveral of their Women are to be met with in Hiſtory, on the like Accounts: For of this Family were the two famous *Claudiæ*; ſhe that cleared the Veſſel laden with the Holy Furniture of *Cybele*, when it was ſtranded in the Shallows of *Tiber*, having firſt made it the Condition of her Prayers to the Goddeſs, *That it might be a Teſtimony to an unviolated Chaſtity*: And the other that was impeached by the People of, and condemn'd for a piece of Treaſon, till then, without Precedent, having been heard to wiſh when a Crowd of the *Mobile* made her Chariot wait, That her Brother *Pulcher* were again living, to clear the Streets of *Rome* by the loſs of another Fleet. Beſides this, it is very well known, that (*P. Clodius* only excepted, who ſuffer'd himſelf to be adopted by a Perſon very much inferior to him, both in Years and Quality, that he might procure the *Baniſhment* of *Tully*.) All the *Claudii* were ever the leading Men, and greateſt Sticklers for the Honour and Prerogative of the *Nobility*, and were ſo inveterate and inſolent toward the *Populace*, that not one Man of them, when liable to any *Capitol Puniſhment*, would ever ſubmit to wear the *Robe of Humility*, or ſue for Pardon to the People. Nay, ſome of them have gone ſo far in the

the heat of their Broils and Contention, to ſtrike the very *Tribunes* of the People: Even a Veſtal of the Family, whoſe Brother had preſum'd to triumph without the leave of the People, made no ſcruple to get up into his Chariot, and rode with him to the *Capitol*, that *Tribunes* might have no Power to oppoſe or croſs him in his way.

Tiberius of this Family.

3. From this Stock by both ſides was *Tiberius Cæſar* extracted; by the Father from *Tiberius Nero*, by the Mother, from *Appius Pulcher*, both Sons of *Appius Cæcus*. He was graffed alſo into the Family of the *Livii*, by the Adoption of his Grandfather on the Mothers ſide. This Family, though of *Plebeian* Original, was of very great Note, for it had been honour'd with eight *Conſuls*, two *Cenſors*, three *Triumphs*, as alſo a *Dictator* and *Maſter of the Horſe*, and was famous for many eminent Perſonages, but chiefly *Salinator*, and the *Druſi*. *Salinator* in the Memorials of his *Cenſorſhip* impleaded all the *Tribes* of Unconſtancy, becauſe they had choſen him a ſecond time *Conſul*, and then *Cenſor*; having before, after his firſt *Conſulſhip*, ſet a round Fine upon his Head. *Druſus* killing the Enemies General *Drauſus* hand to hand, gave the occaſion of a new *Sir-name* to himſelf and his Poſterity. When he was *Pro-prætor*, he is ſaid to have brought the Gold out of *France*, which was given to the *Senones* in the Leaguer of the *Capitol*, and was falſly reported to have been recover'd then by *Camillus*. His great Grandſon for his ſingular Services againſt the *Gracchi*, called *the Patron of the Senate*, left a Son, who in the like Diſorders, endeavouring an Accommodation, was treacherouſly aſſaſſin'd by the contrary Faction.

4. The

4. The Father of *Tiberius* was *Treaſurer* under *C. Cæſar*, and *Admiral* in the *Alexandrian* Expedition, wherein his Conduct contributed very much toward the obtaining the Victory. In conſideration of which Action, he was created *Pontifex* in the room of *P. Scipio*, and ſent into *France* to plant *Colonies* in *Narbo* and *Arelate*. But after the *Murder* of *Cæſar*, when it was concluded that an *Act of Oblivion* ſhould paſs to prevent Commotions, he offer'd alſo to their Conſideration the Rewards which were uſually order'd to the *Killers of Tyrants*. After this, being *Prætor*, about the end of the Year, when a Breach happen'd among the *Triumviri*, he continu'd in Office beyond the time by Law prefixt, and follow'd *L. Antonius* the *Triumvir*'s Brother into *Spain*. And when others ſurrendred themſelves upon Conditions, he only ſtood out, making his Eſcape firſt to *Præneſte*, and then to *Naples*; where offering Freedom to ſuch Slaves as would come in *Volontiers*, without Succeſs, he retreated thence into *Sicily*. But being diſtaſted that he was not readily admitted to the Preſence of *Sex. Pompeius*, and forbid to uſe the *Faſces*, he paſſed over into *Achaia* to *M. Antony*; with whom, when the Difference was reconcil'd, he return'd to *Rome*, and at the Requeſt of *Auguſtus*, made over to him his Wife *Livia Druſilla*, then great with Child, who had alſo before had another Son by him. Not long after this he died, leaving two Sons, *Tiberius Nero*, and *Nero Druſus* behind him. *Of his Father.*

5. Some have been of Opinion that *Tiberius* was born at *Fundi*, on a fooliſh Conceit, becauſe his Grand-Mother by the Mothers ſide was a Native of that Place; and a while after, *The Place and Time of his Birth.*

by Order of Senate, a Statue of *Felicity* was erected there. But moſt, and thoſe too of beſt Authority, deliver, he was born at *Rome* in the *Palace*, on the ſixteenth day of *November*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the ſecond time, and *L. Munacius Plancus* exerciſing the Conſular Office, after the famous Battel at *Philippi*. This is found enter'd in the *Calendars* and *Publique Regiſters*; tho' there are ſome will needs have him born in the foregoing Year, under *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, and others, the Year following, in the Conſulſhip of *Servilius Iſauricus* and *Antony*.

Of his Childhood. 6. His Infancy and Childhood were ſubjected to great Hazards and Dfficulties; for he was the Companion of his Parents all along their dangerous Flight. At *Naples*, as they were going privately on Shipboard, while the Enemy was entring the Town, his frowardneſs had twice like to have diſcover'd them; once being taken from the Nurſes Breaſt, another time, haſtily from his Mother, to eaſe the Women, as the ſtraitneſs of time requir'd. He was carried through *Sicily* and *Achaia*, and intruſted to the publick care of the *Lacedæmonians*, living at that time under the Protection and Patronage of the *Claudii*. From thence, travelling by night, he was brought into danger of his Life; for paſſing the Woods, a *Flaming Exhalation* on the ſudden encompaſſed the whole Company, and burnt *Livia*'s Hair, with part of her Garments. The Preſents made him at parting in *Sicily* by *Pompeia*, the Siſter of *Sextus*, the *Mantle* and *Button*, and the *Golden Bullions*, are ſtill to be ſeen at the *Baiæ*. After his return to the City, he was adopted by the laſt Will of *M. Gallius*, the Senator, and took poſſeſſion

ſeſſion of his Eſtate, but forbore the uſe of his Name, becauſe he had been an active Man againſt the Intereſt of *Auguſtus*. At the Age of nine years, he made a *Funeral Oration* in praiſe of his dead Father. And after this, growing towards a Youth, waited on *Auguſtus* in the Triumph for the Victory won at *Actium*; he riding on the Left hand on a Horſe of State, and *Marcellus* the Son of *Octavia* on the right, and preſided in the Games inſtituted on that occaſion; and in the *Trojan Games* celebrated in the *Circus*, he commanded the whole Body of *young Noblemen*.

Of his Youth and Wives.

7. Being now come to Man's Eſtate, his Youth, and ſo much of the ſucceeding Age, till he enter'd upon the Empire, was ſpent after this following manner. He gave two Prizes of *Gladiators*, one in Memory of his Father, the other of his Uncle *Druſus*; one in the *Market-place*, the other in the *Amphitheatre*; and hired many to play in them, who had been diſcharged from further Service, at the rate of an hundred thouſand *Seſtertii*. He gave alſo Plays, but was abſent from the Repreſentation, and performed every thing magnificently, and anſwerably to the Allowances of his Mother and Father-in-Law. He took to Wife *Agrippina*, Daughter of *M. Agrippa*, and Neece to *Cæcilius Atticus* a *Roman* Knight, to whom *Tully* addreſſes his *Epiſtles*; but though ſhe had by him a young *Druſus*, and was then again big with Child, and every way agreeable to his Humour; yet was he forced to put her away, and comply with the Propoſals of a Marriage with *Julia* the Emperors Daughter. Yet this he did not without a great deal of Reluctancy,

both becauſe he was taken with the Converſation of *Agrippina*, and had entertain'd ill thoughts of the Carriage of *Julia*; of whom he had obſerv'd, that ſhe betray'd no great diſlike to himſelf, even in her former Husbands time, and the thing alſo had taken wind among the People. But after the Ratification of the Divorce, he repented of ſuch uſage to *Agrippina*; and lighting on her one time by chance, gave ſuch evident tokens of Love in his Eyes, that care was taken ſhe ſhould never after that come in his Way. At firſt he liv'd very peacefully and lovingly with *Julia*; but after ſome time, there broke out ſuch a Difference between them, that their Son dying at the ſame time in *Aquileia*, he from that minute forbore the uſe of her Bed. Having loſt his Brother *Druſus* in *Germany*, he attended on foot upon the dead Body all the way to *Rome*.

His Services of the Publick.

8. In his firſt Eſſays towards publick Buſineſs, before *Auguſtus*, in ſeveral Cauſes, he undertook the Defence of King *Archelaus*, the *Tralles*, and *Theſſalians*. He interceded with the *Senate* on behalf of thoſe of *Laodicea*, *Thyatira* and *Chios*, who had ſuffer'd extreamly by an Earth-quake, and made their Applications to them for relief. He convicted *Faunius Cæpio* of Treaſon, for having plotted with *Varro Muræna* againſt the Perſon of *Auguſtus*, and demanded Sentence againſt him. And in the mean time brought to effect two things of very conſiderable Importance; the regulating the Proviſions of Corn, which at that time began to grow ſcanty; and the inſpecting the publick *Bridewels* all over *Italy*, which lay under an Imputation, not only of forcibly detaining warrantable

able Paſſengers, but alſo of admitting any whom fear of being preſs'd for the publick Service drove into ſuch Covert.

9. His firſt Applications to Military Affairs, were made in the Expedition againſt the *Cantabri*, in quality of a *Tribune* of the Army under Pay; then leading the Army into the *Eaſt*, he inveſted *Tigranes* in the Kingdom of *Armenia*, and placed the Crown upon his Head in the common *Hall of Juſtice*. He recover'd alſo the Standards which the *Parthians* had taken from *M. Craſſus*. After this, he kept in good order, for almoſt a whole twelvemonth, that part of *France* which is called *Comata*, then under great Diſturbances by the Incurſions of their barbarous Neighbours, and Diſſenſions of their own Princes. From hence he removed the War into *Rhætia* and *Vindilitia*, then to *Pannonia*, then *Germany*. In the *Rhætian* and *Vindilitian* War, he reduc'd the Nations about the *Alps*; in the *Pannonian*, the *Breuci* and *Dalmatæ*; and in the *German* Conqueſts, he paſs'd over into *France*, Forty thouſand Men which ſurrendred themſelves to him, and divided the Lands unto them along the Banks of the *Rhine*. In requital for theſe things, he was honoured with an *Oration*, and received (the firſt, as ſome think) into the City in a Chariot with all the Train and other Circumſtances of a *Triumph*, a Glory altogether new, and never offered to any, before he entred upon Places of Truſt betimes, and ran through all ſucceſſively, almoſt without intermiſſion, the *Treaſury*, *Prætor*, *Conſul*, and after ſome time, a ſecond *Conſulſhip*, and held for *Tribune* five years.

His Military Atchievements.

His Retirement, and the Reason of it.

10. While all things thus ſeemed to court him, on the ſudden, in the prime of his years, and a ſetled conſtitution of Health, he reſolves upon a Retirement, to remove as far as may be out of the way. It is doubted, whether to avoid the Vexation of his Wife, whom he durſt not complain of, or divorce, and could no longer bear with; or by taking off the cheapneſs, a daily converſe might contract, to eſtabliſh and improve his Intereſt againſt the Publick, ſhould ſtand in need of him. Some are of Opinion, that *Auguſtus* his Children now growing up, he only reſigned the *Second Place next the Emperor*, which he had a long time aſſumed to himſelf. And in this he followed the Example of *M. Agrippa*, who withdrew to *Mitylenæ*, when *M. Marcellus* began to make a Figure in the World, that he might neither ſeem to obſtruct his Glory, or detract from it; which reaſon indeed he himſelf afterward confeſs'd; but at that time pretending a *Satiety of Honours*, and a *Deſire to quit Buſineſs*, begg'd leave to *travel*. He was deaf to the Entreaties of his Mother and Father-in-Law, who complained to the *Senate*, that he was deſerted by him; and when they were obſtinate in retaining him, he refuſed to eat for four days together. At laſt, obtaining leave to go, he left his Wife and Son at *Rome*, and made all poſſible haſte to *Oſtia*, not ſo much as changing one Word with thoſe who waited on him thither, and ſaluted very few at his taking leave.

11. From *Oſtia*, coaſting along by *Campania*, he was adviſed of the Indiſpoſition of *Auguſtus*, which occaſioned his ſtay there for ſome time. But the Diſcourſe growing riſe, that he was detained

tained there by great Expectations, he put to Sea immediately for *Rhodes*, with the Wind almoſt in his Prow, having formerly been taken with the pleaſantneſs and healthfulneſs of that Iſland, in his return from *Armenia*. Here contenting himſelf with a convenient ordinary Houſe, he lived in the Quality of a *Private Citizen*, uſing ſometimes to come to their publick Schools without his *Officers* or *Meſſengers*, and ſubmitting to receive and pay the Complements and Ceremonies of the *Greeks*, almoſt on equal terms. One time, laying out the Affairs of the following day, he ſaid he would viſit all the Sick in the City, ſome of the Company, upon a Miſtake, gave order that they ſhould all be brought into the publick *Piazza*, and diſpoſed into Companies according to their Diſtempers: The unexpected accident at firſt made him in ſome doubt what to do; but afterwards, going about to every man of them, he apologiz'd for the Miſtake to the very meaneſt, and moſt unknown to him. In this only thing he made uſe of his *Tribunitial* Authority. Being conſtantly at the *Schools* and *Auditories* of the *Profeſſors*, there happen'd once a terrible Broil among the Diſputants, in which, one of them did not ſcruple to make a ſcurrilous Reflection upon him, for interpoſing and intereſting himſelf on the contrary ſide: He took no great notice of it, but going home, returned with his *Officers*, and having cited him into Court by the *Cryer*, committed the ſawcy Railer to Priſon. By this time he underſtood that his Wife ſtood convicted for Adulteries, and other notorious Incontinencies, and a *Divorce* drawn up in his Name, was ſent him from *Auguſtus*; this, tho'

it gave him not little inward pleaſure, yet he thought it would be look'd on as a thing incumbent on him, to intercede with her Father on her behalf; and accordingly by frequent Letters, he entreated, that however ill ſhe had deſerved of him, ſhe might enjoy whatever Preſents he had made her. But by this time, his *Tribunitial* Authority being expired, he at length made profeſſion, that the deſign of his Retirement, was only to avoid the ſuſpicion of Rivalling *Caius* and *Lucius*; and deſired, that ſince he was no longer to be feared, they having by this time ſtrengthened their *Intereſt*, ſecured to themſelves the *Second place in the Empire*, he might have leave to return to his Friends and Acquaintance, whom he had paſſionate deſire to enjoy. But his Requeſt was without effect, and he was further given to underſtand, that he might quit all that Tenderneſs and Concern for thoſe he had been ſo eager to forſake.

12. He remained therefore at *Rhodes* againſt his Will, having with much ado, obtain'd by his Mothers Mediation, the pretence of being there as Ambaſſador from *Auguſtus*, thereby to palliate his Diſgrace and Shame. And then he liv'd not as a private Perſon only, but as one that abſconded as fearful to be found out, concealing himſelf about the middle of the Iſland, to avoid the Addreſſes of ſuch as ſailed that way; for there was no perſon that came from *Rome*, either with the Command of an Army; or to be made Governour of a Province, but continually turned into *Rhodes* to ſalute him. Yet there were other cauſes of his Diſquiet; for going over to *Samos* on a Viſit to *Caius* his Wives Son, then newly made Governour of the Eaſtern

Eaſtern Countries, he found himſelf entertained there with great ſtrangeneſs and indifferency, cauſed by the private Aſperſions and Inſinuations of *Lollius* his Governour and Companion. He became likewiſe ſuſpected for ſeveral Centurions whom he had preferred, who returning to the Camp, according to the Date of their Paſport, were thought to have received private Orders from him, and to come thither to ſound how People ſtood affected, to ſtir them up to a Mutiny. Being advertiſed of this ſuſpicion by *Auguſtus*, he earneſtly requeſted that ſome Perſon, tho' of never ſo mean rank, might be ſet as a Spy over all his Words and Actions.

13. He left off alſo his accuſtomed Exerciſes of Riding, and the uſe of Arms; and laying aſide the Habit of his own Country, wore a *Cloak* and *Slippers*, as the *Græcians* did. And in this condition he remained almoſt two years together, growing every day more and more odious and contemptible in the Eyes of all Men, that the *Nemauſenſes* pulled down his very Statues. Nay, when he was but mentioned by chance at a Feaſt, where *Caius* was making merry with his Friends and Familiars, one of the Company roſe up, and proffered *Caius*, *if he would ſay the Words*, *to ſail immediately to* Rhodes, *and bring that Exiles Head*; ſo they termed him. Finding therefore he was not in Fear only, but in evident Danger, he himſelf, with his Mother, made ſuch earneſt Supplications to *Auguſtus*, that at laſt they prevailed for his Return. Being in a great meaſure aſſiſted by the following accident; *Auguſtus* was reſolved to do nothing in this matter without the conſent of his eldeſt Son, who happening at that

that time to be incenſed againſt *Lollius*, was the more eaſily inclined to pardon *Tiberius*. So by the permiſſion of *Caius*, he was recalled, but with this *Proviſo*, that he ſhould never meddle with any Office, or be admitted to any Adminiſtration in Affairs of State.

14. After eight years abſence he returned home, bringing with him very great and confident Hopes of future Greatneſs, which he had conceived from his younger years from many Prodigies and Predictions concerning him. For his Mother *Livia* being yet big with him, deſiring to know by Divination if ſhe ſhould have a Male Child, took an Egg from under a ſetting Hen, and kept it warm ſo long, ſometimes in her own, ſometimes her Servants Hands, till a Cock Chicken, with an extraordinary Comb was hatcht at laſt. While he was an Infant, *Scribonius* the Aſtrologer foretold great things of him, *That he ſhould come to reign as* King, *but without the Enſigns of* Imperial Dignity: For the Power and Authority of the *Cæſars* was as yet unknown. In his firſt expedition, as he led his Army through *Macedonia* into *Syria*, it happened, the Altars which the Victorious Legions had conſecrated near *Philippi*, ſhone out ſuddenly with a great Flame. Going thence into *Illyricum*, he ſtopt near *Padoua* to conſult the Oracle of *Gergon*, where drawing his Lot, he was ordered for an anſwer to his Deſires, to throw a golden Die into the Fountain of *Aponius*; which being accordingly done, the Die remained with the greateſt Chance uppermoſt, as is to be ſeen at this very day. Alſo a few days before he was recalled, an Eagle, a Bird never before ſeen in *Rhodes*, came and ſate on

the

the top of his Houſe. Even the day before it, he was aſſured of his Return, while he was changing his Garments, his *Coat* ſhone as if it had been on Fire. And *Thraſyllus*, whom he had entertained as a great Maſter in Aſtrology, ſeeing a Ship afar off, foretold it brought good News; and had it done otherwiſe, he deſigned, while they walked together on the Shore, to have thrown him into the Sea for a Cheat and Impoſtor, and one unfit to be entruſted with his private Concerns. For he had predicted before ſeveral things, which fell out quite contrary.

15. After his Return, having placed his Son *Druſus* in the Judicial Court, he departed preſently from *Pompey*'s Houſe at *Carinæ*, to the Gardens of *Mæcenas* at *Eſquiliæ*; where he gave himſelf wholly over to the Enjoyment of his Eaſe and Quiet, minding only his private Occaſions, and never concerning himſelf, or intermedling with any publick Buſineſs. But at laſt, *Lucius* and *Caius* both dying within three years, *Auguſtus* was pleaſed to adopt him and their Brother *Agrippa* into their Room. But *Tiberius*, before he was adopted, was obliged to Adopt *Germanicus* his Brothers Son. After his Adoption, he waved all the Rites and Priviledges of the Maſter of a Family; he never gave publick *Doles*, nor manumitted any Servants, nor received any Legacy or Inheritance, otherwiſe than as a peculium permitted to him by his Father. From this time every thing ſeemed to contribute to his riſing Greatneſs; eſpecially after his Competitor *Agrippa* was diſinherited and laid aſide, ſo that the Succeſſion in the Empire ſeemed to reſt on him alone.

16. After

16. After this, he was elected *Tribune* a ſecond time, for five years, and ſent into *Germany* to compoſe the Diſorders there: And ſo much was he in eſteem, that when *Auguſtus* had given Audience to the *Parthian* Embaſſadors at *Rome*, he ordered them likewiſe to make their Addreſſes at the Province where he reſided. As ſoon as he heard the *Illyrians* had revolted, he forſook the former, and betook himſelf to the Management of this new War; the greateſt and moſt troubleſome, it may be, ſince that with the *Carthaginians*. He had under his Conduct fifteen Legions, and about the ſame number of Allies, with which he maintained the War three years continually, under all the Straits and Extremities imaginable, but chiefly want of Corn. And though he was even moved to give it over, he continued ſtill conſtant to his firſt Reſolution; fearing, if he returned without Conqueſt, the ill conſequences of ſo dangerous a Neighbour. And this Conſtancy of his, at laſt met with a ſuitable Succeſs, for he conquered and reduced the whole Country of *Illyricum*, as it lies bounded by part of *Italy*, and the Kingdoms of *Noricum*, *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, betwixt the *Danube* and the *Adriatick*.

17. The Juncture wherein this Action was performed, added much to the Glory of it; for about this time *Quintilius Varus*, with three Legions under his Command was totally defeated and loſt in *Germany*; and every one expected the Victorious *Germans* would ſtrait have joyned with the *Pannonians*, had not *Illyricum* been ſo happily ſubdued. Upon this account they decreed a Triumph for him, with many other ſignal Honours; ſome would have a new Name conferred

conferred on him, and called him *Pannonicus*, others the *Invincible*, others the *Pious*. But in this, *Auguſtus* himſelf interpoſed, promiſing when he died, to leave him ſuch a Name as would ſufficiently content him. As for the Triumph, he put it off of his own accord, the City at that time being in Diſtreſs for *Varus*'s Misfortune. Nevertheleſs he made a ſolemn Entrance into the City, in his Purple *Prætexta*, crowned with Laurel; and coming into the *Campus Martius*, aſcended a Tribunal erected there for him, and the whole Senate ſtanding round about, ſate down with *Auguſtus* between the two *Conſuls*. From hence, after an Oration made to the People, he was led in ſolemn Proceſſion to viſit the Temples of the Gods.

18. The next year he went again into *Germany*, and imputing the overthrow of *Q. Varus* merely to his raſhneſs and neglect, would undertake nothing without the Advice and Approbation of his Council. Otherwiſe a Perſon relying only on his own Judgment; yet then, contrary to his uſual Diſpoſition, he would communicate his Deſigns to other Perſons, in relation to the War: He uſed alſo a far greater care than formerly. Being about to paſs the *Rhine*, he ſtopt the Wagons of Proviſions which at that time were limited, and ſearched them ſeverally himſelf upon the Shoar, that nothing might be tranſported, that was either unneceſſary, or prohibited. When he had paſſed the *Rhine*, he entred upon a very ſtrict courſe of Life, eating many times on the bare Ground, and ſleeping all night, expoſed to the open Air, without any Tent or Pavilion. His Orders

Orders for the next day he uſed to deliver in little Tablets; wherein, if matter of doubt did ariſe, he charged them to repair to no other interpreter than himſelf, to whom they might have Admittance at any hour of the Night.

19. He kept his Soldiers to the ſtricteſt Diſcipline, and brought up again the ancient ways of puniſhing and diſgracing Offenders, inſomuch that he publickly diſgraced a *Lieutenant* of a *Legion*, for no other reaſon, than having ſent a few Soldiers under his manumitted Servant, croſs the River to hunt. Though he ſeldom would hazard a Battel, yet was he always encouraged thereto, when the Light, by which he watched, any Night, fell down of its ſelf, and was extinguiſhed; repoſing (as he pretended) no little confidence in that Sign, which had been ever proſperous to him and his Predeceſſors in all their Undertakings of that kind. Yet having happily concluded the War, he narrowly eſcaped the hand of a common *German* Soldier, who being obſerved by ſuch as were near his Perſon, to diſcover ſomewhat of guilty Horrour in his Countenance, was preſently ſeized, and put to the Rack, confeſſed the whole Matter.

20. Upon his Return from *Germany* to *Rome*, he received that Triumph he had put off two years before, accompanied with his Lieutenants; for whom alſo he got leave to wear the Triumphal Ornaments. But before he made his Entrance into the *Capitol*, he deſcended from his Chariot, and ſubmiſſively threw himſelf at the Feet of his Father *Auguſtus*, then ſitting as *Preſident* over the Aſſembly. He conferred very great Favours and Rewards on *Ba-*

ton

ton the *Pannonian* General, and afterwards returned him to *Ravenna*, recompensing the Kindness before received of him, when being inclosed with his Army in a dangerous Pass, he was so generous to let them escape. After this, he made a publick Entertainment for the People, in which a thousand Tables were furnished, and three hundred *Sesterces* distributed to each man. Out of the Spoils of the War, he erected a Temple to the Goddess *Concord*, and another to *Castor* and *Pollux* in his own and Brothers Name.

21. Not long after, it was decreed by the Consuls, he should joyntly administer in the Government of the Provinces with *Augustus*, and undertake with him the Supervisal and *Cessment* of every Mans Estate: Which having performed, he went for *Illyricum*, but was called back again on the way, by the News of *Augustus*'s Sickness, whom he found alive, but past all Recovery, and was with him in private a whole day together. I am not ignorant it was commonly reported, that after *Tiberius* was gone, *Augustus* should be overheard by some of the Attendants, to say these Words, *Oh miserable* Romans, *that must be ground to pieces under such slow Teeth*! And I know very well what some have delivered, how *Augustus* did give open testimony of his dislike to the morosness of his Temper; insomuch, that he would often break off his Pleasantness and Freedom of Humour upon his entring the Room, and that he consented to his Adoption, to satisfie the Importunity of his Wife, or out of an odd piece of Ambition, that so ill a Successor might preserve his Memory in greater esteem and

and veneration among the People. However, I can never be induced to believe that a Prince, in other things, every way ſo wiſe and circumſpect, would have acted upon ſuch ſlight Grounds, eſpecially in a Matter of ſuch mighty Conſequence; but rather that having duly compared his Vices with his Virtues, he concluded the latter did much overballance the former. And that which gives us yet greater reaſon to believe ſo, is, that *Auguſtus*, before a ſolemn Aſſembly took it upon his Oath, *That he adopted him purely for the good of the Commonwealth*; and in ſeveral Epiſtles, has commended him as a moſt expert Commander; nay, even the only Support and Bulwark of the *Roman* Empire. Some of his Expreſſions of that kind, I have inſerted here for confirmation. *Farewel my ſweeteſt* Tiberius, *go on and proſper in thy Undertakings, fighting for me and the* Muſes. *So may I be happy, as I account thee my moſt Dear, moſt Valiant, and moſt Accompliſht General. Farewel, take care of your Summer Quarters. I am perſwaded, my* Tiberius, *it were impoſſible for any man under ſo great Difficulties, joyn'd with ſo much Sloth and Cowardiſe in his Soldiers, to have managed his Affairs with equal Prudence to thee. All that have ever been with you, agree this Verſe to be moſt applicable to you.*

Unus homo nobis vigilando reſtituit rem.

And again, *Whether (ſays he) any thing occurs that requires my more ſerious Application, or any thing that gives me matter of Reſentment; by Heavens, I find the Want immediately of my* Tiberius's *Preſence, and this of* Homer *comes often into my Mind,*

Τὸν

Τούτου δ' ἐσπομένοιο, καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
Ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν, ἐπεὶ περὶ οἶδε νοῆσαι.

When I hear how thou dost waste thy self by continual Labours, may I perish, if I am not seized with Horrour and Astonishment; let me prevail with you therefore to be more merciful to your own Body, lest if thou do otherwise then well, your Mother and my self immediately expire at the News, and the Roman *Empire be in danger of being lost. For my part, my own Health I value not, unless you be well also. And I leave you to the continual Protection, and particular Care of the Gods, unless they have quite deserted and withdrawn their Kindness from the People of* Rome.

22. He published not the Death of *Augustus* till the young *Agrippa* was taken out of the way, whom a certain Captain of a Troop put to Death, in whose Power he was, having first received a Warrant so to do; which Warrant, whether left by *Augustus* before his Death, to remove all occasion of Disturbance afterwards; or whether it was counterfeited in his Name by *Livia*, with, or without the Consent and Knowledge of *Tiberius*, is not easily determined; yet *Tiberius*, when the Commander told him he had obey'd his Orders, returned him this Answer, *That he had never gave such Orders, and that he should be brought to answer for that Action before the Senate.* But that might be only to avoid the Ill-will of the People; for afterwards the Matter was hushed up, and no farther notice taken of it.

23. After this, by vertue of his *Tribunitial* Authority, he convened the *Senate*, and in the

beginning of his Oration, ſtopt on the ſudden, as though unable to ſupport the Violence of his Grief; then fetching a deep Sigh, with, *That not only his Voice, but his Life alſo would fail him*; and ſo delivered his Papers to be read to them by his Son *Druſus*. After this, the laſt Will and Teſtament of *Auguſtus* was produced openly, and read out by one of his *Freemen*; but of the Witneſſes, unleſs thoſe of the Order of Senators, none were admitted in; the reſt ackowledging their Hands and Seals without. The Will began after the following manner. *Since by the Malice of ill Fortune, my two Sons,* Caius *and* Lucius, *have been ſnatched from me, I do hereby conſtitute and appoint* Tiberius *my Heir in two thirds of my Eſtate.* Which was made uſe of as a Confirmation of their Suſpicion by thoſe Perſons, that were of opinion, he made him Succeſſor rather out of Neceſſity than Choice, otherwiſe he would hardly have *Prefaced* it after that manner.

24. As to the Empire, tho' he ſcrupled not to take immediate Poſſeſſion of the *Thing*, as the Guards about his Perſon, the very Supports and outward Marks of Dominion and abſolute Power, were ſufficient to teſtifie; yet ſo great was his Impudence, he pretended to decline the *Title* a long time; one while reprehending the Importunity of his Friends, ſaying, *They knew not how unruly a Monſter* Empire *was*. At another time, holding the *Senate* in ſuſpence with doubtful Words and Anſwers, who were continually on their Knees at him to accept it, inſomuch that one from the midſt of the *Mobile* was heard to cry out, *Let him either take it or leave it*; and another told him to his Face,

That

That others were ſlow to perform what they eaſily promiſed, but for his part, he was ſlow to promiſe what he already performed. After much ado, he was prevailed with at laſt to aſſume it, but as a thing merely forced upon him, complaining the while, *He was obliged to undergo a wretched inſupportable Slavery*; and pretending that no other Motive, but the hopes of quitting it one day could have brought him to it. His Words are theſe; *Till the time ſhall come, when this Honourable Aſſembly ſhall in Pity to my Age and Infirmities, think fit to grant me a* Quietus.

25. And the reaſon of his deferring it ſo long, was the Fears he was poſſeſt with of approaching Dangers from all hands. He was frequently heard to ſay, *He held a Wolf by the Ears*: For *Clement*, a Servant to *Agrippa*, had engaged no ſmall number of Men to revenge the Death of his Maſter, and *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, a Perſon of eminent Quality, was ſecretly hatching ſome Deſigns againſt him; and beſides all this, both the Armies, that in *Illyricum*, and the other in *Germany*, were dangerouſly mutinous at the ſame time, both of them petitioning for things not regularly to be granted; but thoſe in *Germany* were hot for raiſing their Pay equal to that of his *Prætorian* Bands. Some denied the Authority of their Prince, becauſe he did not derive it from them, and uſed their utmoſt endeavour with *Germanicus* their preſent Commander, to take upon himſelf the Government, which he would never hearken to. This was that which *Tiberius* was chiefly concerned at, and therefore earneſtly begged of the *Senate*, that they would pleaſe to allot him a Colleague, ſince no Man could be ſuffi-

cient for the Adminiſtration of the whole, without the help and aſſiſtance of others, one, or more, as the caſe ſhould require. Beſides, he pretended an indiſpoſition of Body, that *Germanicus* might the more contentedly expect the Succeſſion, or at leaſt be ſatisfied at preſent with a ſhare of the Government with him. By theſe means, having bruſhed through all Difficulties, *Clement* was by craft betrayed into his Hand, and lay at his Mercy; and *Libo*, that he might not appear too ſevere at firſt, two years after received a ſharp Reprimand in the Senate, he having contented himſelf for the mean time only to watch his Motions, and be cautious of him. For being to ſacrifice one day among the *Pontifices*, he ordered a Leaden Knife to be laid by *Libo* inſtead of a Cleaver, and would never diſcourſe him in private, unleſs his Son *Druſus* were by, and then too, kept up cloſe to him, and held him faſt by the right hand till the Diſcourſe was finiſhed.

26. At length being freed from his Fears, he lived a Civil Life at firſt, not much above the rate of a private Perſon. Of the many Honours, and thoſe of the greateſt, that every day were offered to him, he accepted but a few, and thoſe too of the loweſt ſort. His Birth-day happening on the very time the *Plebeian* Games were performed in the *Circus*, he would by no means allow of any additional Grandeur to be ſhewn in the Celebration, excepting one Chariot and a pair of Horſes. He forbad that any Temples, or Prieſts of any kind ſhould be dedicated unto him, and ſuffered no Statues to be erected to him without his own Conſent, which he never granted,

granted, but upon condition that ſhould not be reckoned among the Images of the Gods, but the common Ornaments of their Houſes. He would have no Man ſworn to the Obſervation of his *Acts*, and could not be brought to allow that the Month *September* ſhould be called *Tiberius*, or *October Livius*. He waved the Titles of *Emperour*, and *Father of his Country*, and would not ſuffer the *Civick Crown* to be ſet over his Door. Unleſs in his Letters to Kings and great Princes, he never ſo much as added the Hereditary Name of *Auguſtus*. He was *Conſul* but three times only, once for a few days, the ſecond time for three Months, and the laſt, till the *Ides* of *May*, and that all the while abſent too.

27. He was ſo great an Enemy to Flattery that he never admitted any Senator to his *Chair*, either to receive his Complement, or even upon buſineſs of what Concern ſoever. One that had formerly been *Conſul*, endeavouring to make his Peace with the Emperour for ſome Offence, upon his Knees, he made ſuch haſte to avoid, that he fell down backward. And if any in common Diſcourſe, or a ſet Oration ſeemed to ſpeak more fauningly than ordinary, he never ſcrupled to check, and take him up after his own rate. One calling him *Dominus*, he deſired him to forbear his flouting Jeaſts for the future; another calling Imployments *Sacred*, and a third ſaying, *He came into the Senate by his Authority*, he ordered them to change their Expreſſions, and for *Authority*, uſe Perſwaſions; for *Sacred*, *Troubleſome*.

28. He ſhewed always very little concern for the ſcandalous Reflections, and evil Reports of

others, and endured the Lampoons of the Town very evenly; having this Saying often in his Mouth: *In a free City, mens Thoughts and Tongues ſhould be free.* But one time above the reſt, when the Senate would have taken Cognizance of Crimes of this nature, and ſuch as were guilty of them, *We have not time enough to ſpare (ſays he) to meddle with theſe inconſiderable Matters: If once you give Countenance to ſuch Debates, no other Buſineſs will be diſpatcht, while under this Pretence every private Pique ſhall be brought before you to be decided.* It was a very handſome and appoſite Expreſſion alſo of his in the Senate-Houſe, *If any one* (ſays he) *ſpeaks evil of me, I will give him as good an account of my Words and Actions as I can, and if that will not ſatisfie him, let him hate on, I'le hate him as much.*

29. But theſe Libels were the rather inſufferable, becauſe he himſelf was very tender in paying every Man the Reſpect due to his Quality and Character, that he almoſt exceeded the niceſt Rules of Civility. Being of a contrary Opinion once in the Senate to *Q. Haterius, Forgive me, Sir, (he ſaid) if as a Senator I have ſpoken my Mind too freely againſt you.* And then addreſſing himſelf to them all in general, he ſaid, *I have now ſaid, and always did, moſt reverend Fathers, that a good Prince, one that deſigns the Welfare of his Country, in whoſe hands you have repoſed ſuch unlimited Power, ſhould ſtudy to be ſerviceable, not only to the* Senate, *and Body of the Community, but even every private Perſons Intereſt and Advantage as the Caſe ſhall require. Nor do I yet repent of ſuch Words, for I always found, and ſtill acknowledge you my good, juſt, and gracious Lords.*

30. Beſides

30. Besides this, in appearance he seemed to restore to the Senate and Magistracy their ancient Priviledges and Dignity. Nothing was of so small, nothing of so great concern, either in publick or private Affairs, that was not brought before the Senate to be determined. There were debated all Taxes, Patents for Monopolies, the Building of publick Works, raising or disbanding of Soldiers, the *Rendezvouz* of Legions and Auxiliaries, prolonging or granting Commissions in time of extraordinary War; lastly, how any Princes Letters were to be answered, in what Form, and to what Effect. A Commander of one of the Wings of the Army, being informed against for Violence and Extortion, was forced to plead to the Information before the Senate, whither *Tiberius* never came but alone, and though once being indisposed, he was brought in his Chair, yet he ordered his People to withdraw immediately.

31. He complained not in the least, when he found any thing carried contrary to his Inclination; as when proposed, that no *Magistrates designed* should be absent from their Place and Trust, that their Presence might give the greater Authority to their Office; yet the *Prætor designed* after that obtained the Priviledge of a *Free Embassy*. A second time, moving that the Money by Legacy bequeathed to the *Trebeians*, might be laid out in mending the High-ways, he could not prevail with them to alter the Will of the Dead. An Act of *Senate* being put to the *Majority*, and he going over to the fewest, no body regarded it so much as to be biassed thereby. Other Affairs were dispatched by

the respective Magistrates according to the ordinary course of Law; nay, so great was the Authority of the Consuls, that Embassadors from *Africk* applied themselves to them for Audience, making complaint, that *Cæsar*, to whom they were sent, delayed their Business beyond their time. And it was no more than might be expected, when he himself always shewed them that Respect, to rise up when they came into the Room, and to give them the way in the Streets.

32. He reproved those of the *Consulars*, who being Generals of Armies, failed to advise the Senate continually of their Transactions, and that they referred to him the sole Disposition of Military Rewards, as if such Power were not inherent in their Trust and Office. He gave particular commendation to a *Prætor*, who upon his entring that honourable Place, commemorated the Acts of his Ancestors in his Oration, according to the laudable, though exolete Custom. He frequently honoured the Corps of Noblemen to their *Funeral Pile*, and shewed a proportionable Respect to meaner Persons and Things. When the Magistrates of *Rhodes* had sent their publick Letters to him without any Subscription, having summoned them before him, he advised them only to be more careful the next time, and then dismissed them, without any other Reprehension. *Diogenes* a *Grammarian* of *Rhodes*, who used to dispute in publick every Saturday, refused him admission upon an unusual day, but gave him notice by his Servant, to come seven days after; this very Person afterwards waiting at his Door to salute him as he came abroad, he said no more

to

to him, but, *Sir, you may come ſeven years hence.* His Anſwer to the Governours of the Provinces, who would have perſwaded him to have loaded them with new Taxes, was this: *That a good Shepherd ought to Shear, not Fley his Sheep.*

33. The Soveraign Power he aſſumed by degrees; and though for ſome time it were hard to paſs a Judgment of the Intention of his Actions, yet for the moſt part, he ſeemed to have regard to the publick Benefit and Commodity. At firſt he concerned himſelf no further, than to ſee every thing duly performed; for which purpoſe he reverſed ſeveral Orders of the *Senate*: And when the Judges were upon the Bench trying of Cauſes, would offer them his Aſſiſtance, ſetting ſometimes promiſcuouſly amongſt them, ſometimes in the higheſt Seat over againſt them. Upon report that any Malefactor was like to come off, through the Favour of the Court, he was preſently amongſt them, and either from the Ground where he was, or aſcending the *Inquiſitors Tribunal*, made a Speech to them of the Laws and Religion, and the particular Crimes they were about to try; and if any Neglect or evil Cuſtoms had prevailed in publick Manners, he himſelf undertook too ſee them ſuppreſſed.

34. He retrenched the extravagant Expences of Plays and publick Sights, by leſſening the Stipends of the *Comœdians*, and reducing the number of *Gladiators* to a certainty. The unreaſonable price of *Corinthian* Veſſels, and the extravagant Luxury of the Times, that three *Mullets* ſhould be valued at Thirty thouſand *Seſterces*, were great Grievances to him; ſo he took

took care to regulate the Expences of Furniture, and that a Market Price ſhould be ſet for all manner of Proviſions, yearly, by the *Senate*. Withal, ordering the *Ædiles* to prohibit all publick Eating-houſes and Taverns, the keeping ſuch great *Ordinaries*, and making ſuch chargeable Entertainments. And to give the greater incouragement to this thrifty way of living by his own Example; he uſed, when he dined in publick, to have Diſhes brought to his Table which he had dined upon, and had been ſet up cold the day before; and particularly, ſometimes half a Boar: upon which occaſion he was wont to ſay, *There was as ſweet a Reliſh in any part of it as in the whole.* He iſſued out his Proclamation againſt the Attendance of daily Salutations; and forbad that New-years Gifts ſhould be ſent to one another, except on the very New-years Day. It was his Cuſtom to give four times as much as he received at ſuch times, and that with his own hands; but being diſpleaſed that he was diſturbed all the Month after, by ſuch as wanted opportunity of making their Preſents on the *Feaſt-day*, he threw up that Cuſtom for all together.

35. By his means the ancient Cuſtom was revived, whereby it was permitted to the Parents and neareſt Relations of ſuch married Women as had been taken in Adultery, to inflict on them what private Puniſhment they thought good, where no body would impeach them to the Publick. A *Roman* Knight having found his Wife in the Act of Uncleanneſs with her Son-in-Law, though he had before obliged himſelf by Oath, never to diſcharge her, he diſpenced with the Oath, that he might give her a Divorce. Some Women of ſcandalous Note, having

ving withdrawn themſelves from the Priviledges of Married Women, by ſetting up for Bawds, to elude the Force of the Statute; and other proſligate young People of all Qualities, voluntarily degrading themſelves, that the Act for not intermixing with the *Comædians* and Sword-players might take no hold of them, he made no more ado but baniſht them every one, to prevent the Cheat they deſigned to put upon the Laws. He took away the Robe from a Senator for leaving his Lodging, and going into the Country juſt before *Quarter-day*, that when that day was paſt, he might have them cheaper at his return; and diſcharged a Quæſtor from his Place, who had married a Lady the Day before his Election, to qualifie him for the Office, and the day after turned her away.

36. He aboliſhed all Foreign Ceremonies, with the whole Oeconomy of *Ægyptian* and *Jewiſh* Rites, forcing the Bigots of thoſe Superſtitions to burn their Holy Wardrope and Religious Trumpery. The Youth of the *Jews*, under pretence of a Military Oath, or raiſing Soldiers, he ſent into Countries of a moſt unhealthful and peſtilential Air: The remaining part of that Nation, and thoſe that were inclined that way, he forbad the City, upon Penalty of perpetual Baniſhment from the Empire. The ſame Sentence was paſſing againſt the *Aſtrologers* and *Fortune-Tellers*; but upon Submiſſion, and promiſing to bid adieu to their Profeſſion, he ſtopt the Execution of it.

37. But above all, he was very ſollicitous that the publick Peace might not be diſturbed by the publick Outrages of Robbers and *Banditti*, or the more ſlye and crafty Attempt of the

the Seditious. He doubled his Garriſons throughout all *Italy*; he built a Guard-houſe at *Rome* for his own *Prætorian* Bands, who before were ſeverally quartered up and down in the the Inns of the Town. He ſevetely puniſhed all Riots and Popular Commotions, and did his endeavour to quell them in the Womb and firſt Conception. A Murder being committed at a Play by a Quarrel that happened in the Pit, he baniſhed the Authors, and the Players as Acceſſories, nor could the moſt powerful Interceſſions of the People procure their Pardon. The Inhabitants of *Pollentia*, not permitting the Corps of an Officer of the Army to be buried, or be removed out of the Market-place till they had ſqueezed ſome contribution out of the Heirs toward a Prize-playing; to correct ſuch inſolence, and prevent the like Diſorders for the future, he diſpatcht away a Body of Men from the City, and another from the Kingdom of *Cotius*, who according to their Orders, diſſembling the Deſign of their March, came upon the Town through ſeveral Poſterns unexpected, with their Swords drawn, and Trumpets ſounding, ſeized it, and caſt moſt of the Citizens and Magiſtrates into perpetual Impriſonment. Through his whole Dominions, he aboliſhed the Rites and Priviledges of Sanctuaries. The *Cyziceni* having committed ſome Acts of violence upon the *Roman* Citizens, he deprived them of that Freedom they had honourably gained in the War againſt *Mithridates*. After this, if any Tumults aroſe in his Dominions, he marched not himſelf to ſuppreſs them, but did it by his Deputies and Lieutenants; nor even then, but by ſlow degrees, and upon urgent

gent neceſſity. Thoſe Princes of whom he had a ſuſpition, as though they were diſaffected to the *Roman* Intereſt, he reduced by Threats and Complaints, rather than force of Arms. Some he enticed to *Rome* by fair Words and large Promiſes, but never permitted them to return, as *Maraboduus* the *German*, *Thraſypolis* the *Thracian*, and *Archelaus* a *Cappadocian*, whoſe Kingdom he reduced into the Form of a Province.

38. Two whole years after he came to the Empire, he never ſtirred out of the Gates of the City; and afterwards but to the neighbouring Towns; and when furtheſt, but to *Antium*, and that very ſeldom, and but for a Day or two; though he often ſaid, he would make a Progreſs and viſit the Provinces and Armies; preſſing Wagons, and laying in Proviſions in all Municipal Towns for that purpoſe. Nay, ſo far proceeded he, as to ſuffer the People to offer ſolemn Prayers and Oblations for his happy Journey and Return; ſo that at laſt he was ſcoffingly called *Callipedes*; one, who according to the *Greek* Proverb, ſeemed to be always running, but never ſtirred a foot.

39. But having loſt both his Sons, *Germanicus* dying in *Syria*, and *Druſus* at *Rome*, he retired into *Campania*, leaving the People fully perſwaded, that he would never return more, nor live long there. And they were not much out in either, for he never returned to *Rome*, and very narrowly eſcaped being buried alive; for ſhortly after, being at Supper in his Hall, at a Summer Seat called *Spelunca*, not far from *Terracina*, ſeveral great Stones broke down ſuddenly from the Roof, and killed many of his Gueſts

Guests and Servants, he himself escaping miraculously.

40. Having travelled through all *Campania*, and performed the Solemnity at the Dedication of the *Capitol* at *Capua*, and the Temple of *Augustus* at *Nola*, which he pretended were the occasion of his Journey, he withdrew into *Capreæ*, taking great delight in that Island, because there was but one Haven that let into it, it being naturally surrounded with inaccessible Rocks and a deep and dangerous Sea. But he was shortly after wrought upon by the Importunate Sollicitations of the People to return, for there had lately happened a Tragical Scene at *Fidenæ*, where above Twenty thousand Men at a Sight of the Sword-Players were unfortunately killed by the Fall of the Amphitheatre. Upon this, he passed over once more to the Continent, and graciously admitted all People to his Presence, and that the rather, because at his departure he had given strict Charge to the contrary, and avoided their Complements all the way.

41. Being returned again into the Island, he became supine and negligent of all the Interests of the Common-wealth, not so much as filling up the Vacancies of the *Decuries* of Horse, nor changing, according to custom, the Tribunes and Commanders of the Army, nor the Governours of Provinces. *Spain* and *Syria* he let lye several years with their Consulary Lieutenants; without any regard or opposition, he suffered *Armenia* to be invaded by the *Parthi*, *Mæsia* to be harassed by the *Daci*, and *Gaul* by the *Germans*, to the unspeakable Disgrace, and no less hazard of the Empire it self.

42. But

42. But now living in a private corner, ſecure, as it were from the Eye of the World; he began publickly to own and practiſe thoſe Vices, which before he had diſſembled with the greateſt Hypocriſie; the particulars take as follow. When he was yet but a Novice, or Freſh-water Soldier (as they term it) he grew ſo notorious a Drinker, that inſtead of *Tiberius*, he got the Name of *Biberius*; and for *Claudius*, he was called *Caldius*; and for *Nero*, *Mero*. After this, when he came to the Empire, even while he was correcting and reforming the Licentiouſneſs and miſerable Corruption of Manners then among the People, he was known to be in continued actual Debauch one night and two days with *Pomponius Flaccus* and *L. Piſo*; to the former of which he gave the Province of *Syria*, and the Government of the City to the latter, ſtiling them in their Commiſſions, *His boon Companions, his ſure Cards at all hours. Claudius Gallus*, a moſt notorious Old *Sir Jolly*, who had been formerly branded for his Debauches by *Auguſtus*, and ſeverely reprimanded by himſelf in the *Senate*, inviting him to Supper, he promiſed to come, on the Terms that nothing were omitted of his uſual way of Entertainment, and they ſhould be waited on by *Stripping Wenches*. He preferred to the *Queſtorſhip*, a Perſon of inferiour Birth and Education, before ſeveral Competitors of Honour and Quality, and that merely becauſe he took off his great *Three-pint Glaſs*. He gave *Aſellius Sabinus* Two hundred thouſand Seſterces for compoſing a Dialogue between the *Muſhrome*, the *Ficedula*, the *Oyſter* and the *Thruſh*. In fine, he inſtituted an *Office of Intelligence* for his *Pleaſures*,

ſures, and gave the Maſterſhip of it to *T. Caſinius Priſcus*, a *Roman* Knight.

43. In his Retirement in *Capreæ*, he invented convenient *Alcoves*, which he furniſhed with Whores and Catamites, and lewd diſcoverers of unnatural and Beſtial Poſtures and Motions; theſe he called *Spintriæ*, the Incendiaries of his Luſt; he entertained himſelf in ſeeing them in three ſeveral rows abuſing each other, thereby to excite his decayed Appetite. He provided ſeveral Chambers alſo, hung about with filthy Pictures and infamous Statues, and furniſhed them with the abominable Books of *Elephantis*, that if any one had a mind to be prodigiouſly Wicked, he might not want a Pattern to ſin by. He invented likewiſe in the Woods, Walks and Grottoes proper for the Beſineſs of Debauchery, where young People of both Sexes proſtituted themſelves in the Maſquerade of Nymphs and Satyrs. So that in alluſion to the Iſland, he was publickly derided by the Name *Caprineus*.

44. One Abomination more he was guilty of, ſcarce fit to be reported or heard, and indeed greater than can be believed of him, that he ſhould debauch young Children yet in Innocence and Ignorance (calling them his little Fry) teaching them to play between his Thighs while he ſwam, to lick and tongue, and ſometimes ſuck him like Infants not yet weaned; and indeed the Impotency of his Age, and beſtiality of his Nature might excite in him thoſe Inclinations to ſuch unmanly and abominable Follies. Thus, when a Piece of *Parrhaſius* Work, repreſenting *Atalanta*, offering her Mouth in that manner to *Meleager*, was left him for

for a Legacy, with condition, if he fancied not the Design, that he ſhould receive in lieu thereof a Million of *Seſterces*; he not only choſe the Picture, but placed it in his very Bed-Chamber. 'Tis told of him alſo, that while he was performing Sacrifice, he was one time ſeiz'd with a Fit of this unnatural Paſſion, toward the Boy that carried the *Cenſer*, that he could hardly reſtrain it till the Divine Service was ended; but that once over, he withdrew with him, and debauched both him and his Brother afterwards, that bore a part in the Muſick, and hearing afterwards they upbraided each other with that Ignominy, he ordered both their Legs to be broken.

45. How unnaturally he was wont to abuſe Women, and thoſe too oftentimes of Quality, was evident in the caſe of *Mallonia*; who being brought to him by his Panders, and reſolutely withſtanding his brutiſh Deſires, upon the Depoſitions of ſuborned Witneſſes was cited before him; where he was ſtill at her, asking her openly, *If ſhe did not yet repent of her coy Refuſal?* till at laſt ſhe made out of the Court, went home, and ſtabb'd her ſelf; yet not before ſhe had ſufficiently reproached the old goatiſh Letcher with his naſty and obſcene Mouth. Upon which, in the next Farce a ſevere Reflection was made upon him, which took mightily, and was in every bodies Mouth. The Expreſſion was thus, *The old He-goat licks the* Pudendum *of the She-goats.*

46. He was ſo cloſe and covetous, that he never allowed any Penſion to ſuch as waited on him in his Progreſſes or Expeditions, but barely *Board-Wages*. Once indeed he ſhewed his

Liberality (thanks to his Father-in-Law) when dividing his Retinue into three *Claſſes*, according to their Eſtates and Quality; to the firſt he gave Six hundred thouſand *Seſterces*, to the ſecond Four hundred thouſand, and to the third Two hundred thouſand; which laſt, he termed in deriſion his *Greeks* not his Friends.

47. He built no Magnificent Structure through all his Reign, the only things he ever undertook of that kind, were the Temple of *Auguſtus*, and the repairing of *Pompey*'s *Theatre*, and left them too both unfiniſh'd at laſt. He made no ſhews to the People himſelf, and was very rarely ſeen at thoſe exhibitted by others, leſt he might be compelled to part with ſomething or other at the Deſire of the *Roman* Commonalty; eſpecially, ſince by their Intreaty he was in a manner forced to give his *Freedom* to *Actius* the *Comædian*. Having been wrought upon to relieve the Preſſures of ſome few decay'd Senators, fearing he ſhould be troubled frequently with the like Addreſſes, he gave out, he would help none for the future, but ſuch only, as ſhould make their Caſes known to the *Senate*; by this means, deterring all Perſons of Modeſty and Ingenuity from deſiring his Aſſiſtance. And among the reſt, *Hortalus*, the Grand-child of *Q. Hortenſius*, that famous Orator, who at the Inſtance and Perſwaſions of *Auguſtus*, had married, and brought up four Children with a very ſmall Eſtate.

48. He ſhewed nothing of publick Munificence, twice only excepted; the firſt time lending out an hundred Millions of *Seſterces* for three years without *Intereſt*; the ſecond, when he made good ſome Houſes burnt in Mount *Cælius*,

Cælius, to the Gentlemen that owned them. The firſt was extorted from him, by the general complaint of ſcarcity of Money, and the Importunity of the People for Redreſs of that Grievance; when through his means, it was decreed by the Senate, that all Uſurers ſhould lay out two parts of their Eſtates in purchaſing Land, and that Debtors ſhould pay in the like Proportion of the Debts, which however never took effect. The other he did to ſet a Face upon the grievous Oppreſſion of thoſe times: And ſo highly did he value himſelf upon it too, that he ordered *Mount Cælius* ſhould from that time be called *Auguſtus*. He beſtowed no *Largeſſes* on the Soldiery, after he had double what *Auguſtus* left them, except a thouſand *Deniers* a Man through the Regiments of his Guards, becauſe they had not gone over to *Sejanus*; and ſome Gifts to the Legions in *Syria*, becauſe they only had refuſed to bear the Protraicture of *Sejanus* in their Colours. He very rarely gave Diſcharges for their Age to the *Veterans*, as expecting by their Deaths, to ſave the *Donatives*, uſually given at their Diſcharge. Of the Provinces, none taſted of his Liberality, excepting only *Aſia*, where an Earth-quake had deſtroyed ſeveral Towns.

49. About this time he gave himſelf wholly over to all manner of Injuſtice and Rapine, every one knows how *Cn. Lentulus* the *Augur*, a Perſon of a mighty Fortune, was perfectly tiezed out of his Life by him, and forced to leave him his Heir. He condemned alſo *Lepida*, a Woman of Quality, to gratifie her Husband *Quirinus* of *Conſular Dignity*, very rich, and without Children, who accuſed her for endea-

vouring to make him away by Poyſon, before their Divorce, then twenty years paſt. Beſides all this, he confiſcated the Eſtates of ſeveral petty Princes of *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Syria* and *Greece*, upon ſuch trivial and ſhameleſs Allegations, that ſome had no other Article brought againſt them, then that part of their Eſtates was in ready Money. He took away likewiſe ſeveral Priviledges, as Exemption from Subſidies, and the Proprieties of Mines from many Communities, as well as private Perſons. And to add to all his other Baſeneſs, when *Vonones* King of the *Parthians*, being ejected from his Kingdom by his own Subjects, had taken Refuge at *Antioch* with a vaſt Treaſure, upon the *Publick Faith*, and under the Protection of the *Romans*, he perfidiouſly order'd him, being firſt plundered, to be afterwards barbarouſly murthered.

50. He betrayed his Rancour againſt his own Kindred; firſt in his Behaviour toward his Brother *Druſus*, by publiſhing a Letter ſent from him to himſelf, wherein it was propoſed to force *Auguſtus* to reſtore the common Liberty. And he carried himſelf much after the ſame rate with the reſt. When his Wife *Julia* was baniſhed, he not only forbore all manner of Interception and mediating in her Caſe (which had been but a point of common Humanity) but being confined by her Father to one Town, he went yet farther, and kept her within her own Doors, and there too, forbad her all manner of Converſation. He cheated her of the Allowance given her by her Father, and cut off her *Seperate Alimony*, and all this too, under colour of publick Juſtice, becauſe *Auguſtus* had not directly put in a Caveat againſt

gainſt ſuch Proceedings in his Will. He was diſpleaſed with the Conduct of his Mother *Livia*, who ſeemed to arrogate to her ſelf an equal ſhare with him in the Government; therefore he avoided her Converſation, and all along any private Diſcourſe with her, leſt People ſhould be apt to think he acted according to her Meaſures, which he did but ſeldom, and then too with great regret. He took it very heinouſly at their hands, when the *Senate* had made a Decree, that among his Titles, he ſhould be ſtiled the Son of *Livia*, as well as *Auguſtus*, and from that time took care ſhe ſhould never be called *the Mother of her Country*, nor receive any publick Honours or Acknowledgments from the People. He would often adviſe her not to interpoſe in Affairs which were above the Management of a Woman; eſpecially, once having obſerved her in Perſon at a Fire, which broke out near *Veſta's* Temple, encouraging the Soldiers and *Mobile* to play the Men, as in the Life of her Husband ſhe uſed to do.

51. By theſe degrees he came at laſt perfectly to hate her, and as is generally reported upon this occaſion: Having urged him ſeveral times to enrole one (whom he had formerly made Free of the City) among the *Decuries* of the Judges, he perſiſted reſolutely to deny her, unleſs ſhe would conſent it ſhould expreſly be inſerted into the Regiſter, *That it was merely forced from him to gratifie his Mother*: being incenſed at the Propoſal, ſhe brought out of her Cloſet ſome Letter formerly ſent her by *Auguſtus*, wherein he complained of the inſupportable inſolence of his Temper and Behaviour,

viour, and these she caused to be read in publick. These Letters which she had stifled so long, and now brought to light on purpose, render him contemptible, he resented so highly, that some have looked upon them as the main promoters of his Retirement; certain it is, that all the three years he was away from *Rome*, though she was then living, he never made her but one Visit, and that but for a few hours. After this, he took no care to be with her in her last Sickness; and after her Death, drilled off her Attendants so long in expectation of his coming, till the Body corrupted. After her Interment, he commanded she should not be *Canonized*, pretending all the while to act in a conscientious Obedience to her last Commands. He made void her Will too in a little time after her Death, and dealt very hardly and cruelly by her Friends and Domesticks, not sparing even those, to whom she had committed the care of interring her Body; one of which, a Knight, he condemned to draw Water for the Publick.

52. He loved neither his own Son *Drusus*, nor *Germanicus*, whom he had adopted with a Fatherly Tenderness, being angry at the Vices of the former, who was of an Effeminate Disposition, and led a Licentious Life. Upon which account he expressed not a Fathers concern for his Death, and in a little while after, applied himself to his usual Affairs, and put no long stop to the Publick Proceedings of Justice. Afterwards, when the Embassadors of *Ilium* came somewhat too late with their *Consolatory Addresses*, he answered them scoffingly, as tho' his Loss had been long forgotten; that he was heartily

heartily ſorry too for them, who had loſt ſo brave a Citizen as *Hector*. He was continually detracting from *Germanicus*, inſomuch that he endeavoured to make his moſt Heroick Atchievments paſs for unneceſſary pieces of Service, and repreſented his moſt glorious Victories as pernicious and deſtructive to the Commonwealth. Nay, he complained to the Senate of him, for going to *Alexandria* without his Leave, though he was called thither by a dreadful and ſudden Famine. He was farther ſhrewdly ſuſpected to have been the Author of his Death, by the hands of *Cn. Piſo*, his Lieutenant at that time in *Syria*; who being accuſed of it when he came to *Rome*, would, as many believed, have produced his Orders, but that in thoſe very Orders he was commanded by *Tiberius*, never to produce them. Theſe ſuſpicious Tranſactions expoſed him to the continual Affronts of the Populacy, who would frequently cry out in the Night, *Reſtore us our* Germanicus: and this was afterwards confirmed by the cruel Uſage he ſhewed to *Germanicus*'s Wife and Children.

53. His Daughter-in-Law *Agrippina*, complaining of him with a great deal of Freedom, after the Death of her Husband *Germanicus*; he took her by the Hand, and repeating to her a Greek Verſe to this effect, *If you do not Rule, good Daughter, it ſeems you think your ſelf wronged*; and would entertain no farther Diſcourſe with her. Upon her Refuſal one time to taſte ſome Fruit he preſented her at Supper, he never invited her again; pretending, that from that Action, it was plain ſhe had a ſuſpicion he would poyſon her, when indeed he had con-

trived things so before hand; both that he should try her by making the Present, and that she should refuse to accept of it as her certain Destruction. In fine, after he had suggested several malicious Falsities; as that one while she designed to take Sanctuary at the Statue of *Augustus*; another while to commit her self and Cause to the Army, he banished her to the Island *Pandataria*; and she not forbearing to return him some sharp Reflections for such Proceedings, commanded her to be lasht by a Centurion, who in the Execution, struck out one of her Eyes. Upon this, she resolving to starve her self, he commanded her Mouth to be forced open, and Meat thrust down her Throat: He cast most odious Aspersions upon her, even after she had killed her self by persisting in that Resolution; and very fain would have had her Birth-Day placed among the *Unlucky Days* in the *Roman Calendar*. Nay, he looke upon it as an Act of special Grace and Favour, that he had not strangled her, and thrown her Body into the River *Tiber*; and permitted a publick Decree to pass, wherein Thanks were returned him for it, as an Action of great Clemency, and an Offering of Gold presented to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

54. By *Germanicus* he had three Grand-Children left him, *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caius*; by *Drusus*, one only named *Tiberius*. Out of these having no Sons to succeed him, he recommended to the *Senate* the two eldest Sons of *Germanicus*, *Nero* and *Drusus*, and celebrated their Inauguration with a Largess to the People. But when he found, that at the beginning of the Year there were publick Vows made for

their

their ſafety, he repreſented to the *Senate*, *That ſuch ſignal Reſpect was not to be ſhewn to any, but thoſe of a good Age, and long Experience.* And from that time, betraying the rancour of his Soul, he laid them open to the ſcandalous Accuſations and Invectives of all Men. He accuſed them alſo in his Letters to the Senate, and ſhewed himſelf violent againſt them, after he had by ſeveral Artifices provoked them to give him abuſive Language; and being adjudged Traytors to the Senate, he commanded them both to be ſtarved, *Nero* in the Iſland *Pontia*, and *Druſus* in the lower part of the *Palatium*. Many think that *Nero* killed himſelf, to defeat the Executioner, who preſented himſelf before him with his *Haltar* and *Hocks*. But *Druſus* was ſo ſtrictly kept from any Victuals, that he endeavoured to eat the very Flocks of his Bed. Both their Bodies were cut into ſo ſmall pieces, that it was almoſt impoſſible for their Friends to recollect them afterwards.

55. Beſides his old Friends and Acquaintance, he required twenty Perſonages of the beſt Quality to aſſiſt in the nature of Cabinet Council, in the Adminiſtration of Affairs; of theſe ſcarce two or three eſcaped his Cruelty, the reſt, upon ſome pretence or other being removed out of the way. *Ælius Sejanus*, not without the joynt Deſtruction of ſeveral his Creatures and Dependancies, was one of theſe, whom he had raiſed to ſupream Power, not out of any extraordinary Kindneſs for him, but to make uſe of him as an Inſtrument to deſtroy *Germanicus*'s Sons, and ſecure the Succeſſion to *Tiberius*, his Grand-Child by *Druſus*.

56. Neither

56. Neither was he one whit better natured to his *Græcian* Companions, whose Converſation he ſeemed moſt delighted withal. One of them, by Name *Zeno*, diſcourſing rarely well before him, he asked him what barbarous *Dialect* he ſpake, and being anſwered the *Dorick*, he baniſhed him to the Iſland *Cinaria*, miſtruſting he had reflected upon his Retirement at *Rhodes*, for the *Rhodians* ſpeak the *Dorick*. Another time (it being his Cuſtom to propoſe Queſtions at Supper to thoſe about him, out of what he had read the day before) finding *Seleucus* the Grammarian tampering with his Servants concerning the Authors, and Times he read, that he might come better prepared; firſt, he forbad him his Preſence, and forced him afterwards to make away with himſelf.

57. He gave ſure Symptoms of his cruel and relentleſs Nature, even from his Childhood, which *Theodorus Gadareus*, his Tutor in Rhetorick, firſt took notice of, with a very home Reflection upon the Occaſion, calling him *a Mixture of Clay and Blood*. This appeared yet plainer after he came to the Empire, even in the beginning of his Reign, while he was yet inſinuating himſelf by an aſſumed Clemency, into the good Opinion of the People. As it happened, a Corps was carrying by to be buried, while a common *Andrew* was at his *Farce* on the Stage; he deſired the dead man to acquaint *Auguſtus*, *The Legacies he left the People were not yet paid*; this came to *Tiberius*'s ear, who ſent for the Fellow, and ordering his *Quota* to be paid, commanded him to be executed forthwith, that he might go himſelf and tell the whole Truth to his Father *Auguſtus*. After this,

this, *Pompeius* a *Roman* Knight, thwarting ſomething propoſed by *Tiberius* in the Senate, having firſt threatned to ſend him into Cuſtody, he added, that of a *Pompeius*, he would reduce him to a *Pompeianus*, being a ſevere *Sarcaſm* upon the Gentlemans Name, and the ill Fortune of the *Pompeian* Intereſt of old.

58. Much about the ſame time, the *Prætor* demanding if he would have a Court ſummoned to take Cognizance of Matters of High Treaſon, his Anſwer was, *The Laws muſt be put in Execution*, and ſo they were, with the extreameſt Rigour and Severity. Some body had taken off the Head from the Statue of *Auguſtus*, intending to place it on ſome other; this Caſe was brought before the *Senate*, and becauſe the Evidence againſt any Perſon was not clear, only ſome were ſuſpected, they were wracked to extort a Confeſſion, and the Party at laſt being found out, was Executed. This odd ſort of Crime came at laſt to be ſo proſecuted, that it proved a Matter of capital Importance, to have corrected ones Slave near the Statue of *Auguſtus*; to have ſhifted ones Cloaths before that Statue, or have carried his Coin, or a Ring with his Medal on it; nay, even to have detracted the leaſt from any Word or Action of his were of no leſs fatal Conſequence. In fine, one was put to Death for no other reaſon than having ſuffered a Vote to paſs in his own Tribe, whereby Honours were decreed to him, on the ſame day they had formerly been decreed to *Auguſtus*.

59. Many other Inſtances of no leſs Cruelty and Barbarity he was guilty of daily, and that too with the ſhew of Reformation of Manners, though

though really to gratifie his own implacable Diſpoſition; inſomuch, that ſome were not wanting, who could not forbear to upbraid him, not only with the preſent but future Calamities in their Lampoons. Thus one.

Thy Fierce, thy monſtrous Soul in ſhort to ſhow;
Hang me, if thy own Dam *can love thee now.*
Thou art no Knight, *for thou haſt no Eſtate;*
But, witneſs Rhodes, *endur'ſt an* Exile's *Fate.*
The Golden Age when you were crown'd withdrew;
Then th' Iron came, and ſtill muſt laſt with You.
Blood now he thirſts for, Wine is out of date,
And no leſs Draughts this greedy Thirſt rebate!
See Sylla, *ſee thy Plague; unhappy* Rome!
See Marius *once more from his Exile come!*
See Antony, *and Civil Wars again,*
His hands repeated Murders deeply ſtain!
Proclaim Rome's *Fall; the bleeding Town muſt groan.*
When Baniſht Miſcreants ſtep into the Throne.

Theſe Rhimes, at firſt he would have aſcribed to the diſſatisfaction ſome might have conceived againſt the very Conſtitution of the preſent Government; for what concerned him, and that it could not proceed from the real ſenſe of their Hearts, but ſome Diſguſt or Reſentment; Therefore he would often ſay, *Let them pretend to hate me, ſo long as their Action ſhews their Approbation.* Yet in a little time he gave them reaſon to mean as they ſpoke.

60. Soon after his Arrival at *Capreæ*, a Fiſherman bringing to him a vaſt Mullet, at an unſeaſonable time, while he was imployed in ſome ſecret Buſineſs, he ordered the Fellows

Face

Face to be ſcratched all over with the Fiſh, being terrified that he had been ſurprized from the rough, and (as was reputed) unpaſſable part of the Iſland. And when the Fiſherman, during his Puniſhment, rejoyced that he had not made him a Preſent alſo of an extraordinary Lobſter taken at the ſame time, he ordered his Face to be torn and wounded with the Lobſter alſo. A Soldier belonging to his Guards was put to death for ſtealing only a Peacock out of a Garden. His Coach being annoyed by the Buſhes in a narrow Way, as he was on a Journey, he commanded the Guide, a Captain of his chiefeſt Guards, to be beaten to death almoſt upon the place.

61. After this he left no ſort of Cruelty unpractiſed, nor ever wanted matter for it; for he perſecuted not only the intimate Friends, but even the Acquaintance of his Mother firſt, then of his Grand-children and Daughter-in-Law, and laſtly of *Sejanus*. After whoſe Death, he exerciſed his greateſt Cruelties, whereby it was plainly ſeen, he was not ſo much inſtigated to ſuch Acts by *Sejanus*, as that *Sejanus* finding his Bloody Humour, was forced to ſupply him with Occaſions of exerciſing them. Yet in the *Memoires* which he himſelf wrote of his own Life, he ſcruples not to ſay, *That he puniſhed* Sejanus *for no other Cauſe than his extraordinary rancour againſt the Children of* Germanicus *his Son*: And yet he himſelf had commanded them to be taken off, one after *Sejanus* ſtood ſuſpected, and the other after his Death. To reckon up all the Inſtances of his Cruelty, would be an endleſs thing; let it ſuffice to recount ſome few only. No day went over his Head, though never

ver ſo ſtrictly devoted to Religious Exerciſes, wherein ſome or other were not executed; inſomuch, that on that ſolemn Feſtival, the New-years Day, ſeveral were accuſed and condemned with their Wives and Children; and their Friends and Relations forbad to mourn for them, and great Rewards propoſed to ſuch as would inform againſt them, and ſometimes to the Witneſſes alſo. No Informer, of what Reputation ſoever, but was believed, and every Crime was made Capital, though it were but the letting fall a few undiſcreet Words. A certain Poet was accuſed for having ſpoken contumeliouſly of *Agamemnon* in his Tragedy; and an Hiſtorian, for calling *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *the laſt of the true old Romans*; and the Authors were puniſht, and the Books burnt, though they had formerly been read to, and paſſed the Approbation of *Auguſtus*. He denyed ſeveral Priſoners, not only the liberty of Study, whereby they might a little divert their Misfortunes, but debarred alſo all Conference and Diſcourſe with others. Some being ſummoned to ſtand their Tryal, to avoid the Infamy of the Sentence, they were ſure to find ſtab'd themſelves; others poyſoned themſelves in Court; nevertheleſs their Wounds were bound up, and they dragged away gaſping and half dead to Priſon. Such as ſuffered, were always drawn about the Streets with *Hooks* in their Mouths, and thrown down the *Gemoniæ* into *Tiber*, after which manner twenty were ſerved in one day, and of that Number, ſeveral Boys and Women. The young Maids, he cauſed firſt to be raviſhed by the Executioner, and afterwards ſtrangled, it being unlawful by their Cuſtoms, to ſtrangle Virgins.

Virgins. Were any desirous to go out of the World, those he constrained to live looking upon *plain* Death as so slight a Punishment, that when he heard *Carnulius*, one of the Prisoners had made away himself, he cryed out, *This* Carnulius *has escaped me*! After this, visiting the Prisons, a Person that lay there petition'd his Execution might be hastened, and his Answer was, *Hold Sir, I am not yet so well reconciled to you.* A Person of Consular Dignity in his *Annals* has this Passage, that at a great Feast, where he himself was also present, the Question was put on the sudden to *Tiberius*, by a Dwarf that waited, *Why* Paconius *liv'd so long, having been condemned for Treason?* for the present, he took him up for the Liberty he had used, but in a few days sent to the *Senate*, that speedy care might be taken for the Execution of *Paconius*.

62. The manner of his Son *Drusus* his Death, made his Cruelty grow more violent and insupportable, whom he thought at first to have killed himself through his own Intemperance and Excess; but being informed he was poysoned by the Treachery of his Wife *Livilla* and *Sejanus*, he was so incensed, that he gave himself over for whole days together, to the Examination of the Business, sparing to torture and punish no body that might be in the least liable to suspition of having a hand in it. Insomuch, that hearing one of *Rhodes* was come to visit him, at whose House he had formerly been received, and whom he had then invited to *Rome*, he ordered him to be tortured as one concerned in the Conspiracy; but afterwards finding his Mistake, caused him to be made away privately, to prevent his telling of Tales. His place for

for Executions is yet to be ſeen at *Capreæ*, whence condemned Perſons were in his ſight caſt down into the Sea, and received there by Seamen, who with their Oars broke their Bones. Among others, he found out this ſort of Torment; to make Criminals, not ſuſpecting his deſign in it, take off a great quantity of Wine, and then tying their Privities with a Lute ſtring, to torment them by the ſtoppage of their Water, as well as the tightneſs of the String. Nay, it is thought, had not Death prevented him, and *Thraſyllus* made him delay their Puniſhment, in hopes of a ſpeedy Recovery, he would not have ſtoped here; his own Grand-children would hardly have eſcaped, for *Caius* was already ſuſpected, and *Tiberius* he deſpiſed as unlawfully begotten. And the truth is, there was reaſon to think ſo, for he would often ſay, *Priamus* was an happy man, for he outlived all his Race.

63. How hated he became by ſuch Actions, how timerous, and how liable to the Tongues of all, there are ſufficient Examples. He commanded that no South-ſayer ſhould be conſulted without Witneſſes. He went about to deſtroy thoſe Oracles that ſtood near to the Town, but was beat off of the Deſign by what happened at the Oracles of *Præneſte*. For having ſealed up the Lots, by which that Oracle was given, and conveyed them to *Rome*; upon opening the Cheſt, no Lots appeared, till they carried it back again to the Temple. The Government of two Provinces, he gave to two that had been Conſuls, and afterwards fearing to truſt them, he kept them ſeveral years in attendance at Court, and at laſt nominated two others to ſucceed them.

them. However, their reſpective Titles they enjoyed all the while, and received daily Orders from him, which they ſent to their Deputies abroad.

64. His Daughter-in-Law, and Grand-children, after their Condemnation, he ſuffered not to travail any whither, unleſs in Chains, with the Coach ſhut up cloſe, and a Guard of Soldiers upon them, to hinder any manner of Communication with thoſe on the Way.

65. He defeated the Projects of *Sejanus* (who was about that time deſigning Alterations in the State) and that more by his peculiar Policy, than his Regal Power and Authority. For firſt, that he might remove him from about his Perſon with an honourable Pretence, he choſe him his Colleague in his fifth Conſulſhip, which he took upon him then for no other purpoſe, after a conſiderable intermiſſion from that Office: And then, after he had cajoled him with fooliſh hopes of Affinity by Marriage, and making him *Tribune*, he accuſed him unexpectedly to the Senate in a pitiful Oration, wherein, among other things, he beggs of them, *That one of the Conſuls might be ſent with a Guard, to conduct him ſafely to them, he being an Aged Perſon, and without Friends.* And ſo fearful was he of a Diſturbance in the City, that he gave Orders, *Druſus* his Grand-Son, who was then Priſoner at *Rome*, ſhould be releaſed, if matters required, and be made their Head. Nay, Ships alſo were prepared, and ready to put off to whatever *Legions* he ſhould incline to take his Flight, and he himſelf all the while waited on an high Rock, expecting the Torches to be light up, which he had ordered as ſigns how things went,

if other Correſpondence ſhould be intercepted. Yet, even after this Conſpiracy of *Sejanus* was brought to naught, his Life proved never the more ſecure or ſetled, for all the nine Months following, he durſt not venture himſelf out of the Town called *Villa Jovis*.

66. But beſides all this, the numerous reproaches which were heaped upon him from all parts, daily galled and fretted his Mind; inſomuch, that all condemned Malefactors, either openly to his Face, or by Libels flung among the Senators, accuſed him of the worſt of Villanies. Theſe oftentimes variouſly affected him; one while, out of a ſenſe of ſhame, he would endeavour to ſtifle them; other times again, he ſeemed to ſlight and contemn them, and would be the firſt Man that made them publick. But above all, he was moſt ſeverely handled in an Epiſtle from *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, who told him roundly of his Parricides, and Murders, Supine Negligence, and Luxury; and in the end, adviſed him friendly to ſatisfie the violent, but juſt Indignation of the People, by ending his wretched Life.

67. At length, growing hateful even to himſelf, in the beginning of an Epiſtle to the Senate, he expreſſes in ſhort the ſum of all his Miſeries. *Moſt Reverend Fathers, what, or in what manner ſhall I write to you? or rather, at ſuch a time; what ſhall I not write to you? may the Gods confound and puniſh me worſe, than I daily find they do, if I know!* Some think he foreſaw theſe Calamities through his Knowledge in future Events; and that for that very reaſon he ſo obſtinately refuſed the Titles of *Emperor*, and *Father of his Country*; and that the People ſhould be

be ſworn to obſerve the *Acts* of his Reign, left in the end, being found unworthy of ſuch Honours, it might redound to his greater Reproach. And indeed ſomewhat like this may be gathered from his own Words, in an Oration upon thoſe very Occaſions; either when he profeſſes, *That he was reſolved to continue always the ſame Man, and that as long as he was his own Man, he would never make the leaſt falſe Step or falter in his Conduct; however he thought it convenient, that the Senate ſhould not oblige themſelves to the Obſervation of the Acts of one who it was poſſible might alter; at leaſt for avoiding the Conſequences of ſuch a Precedent.* And again; *If at any time* (ſays he) *you ſhall have reaſon to ſuſpect either my Conduct, or the ſincerity of my Affection to you, (which rather than it ſhould come to paſs, I wiſh I might dye the day before you alter your Opinion of me!) the Name of* Father *then will be no addition of Honour to me; nay, rather a Reproach to your ſelves, either on the account of your Raſhneſs in conferring the Title at firſt, or Inconſtancy in altering your Opinion afterwards.*

68. His Body was of a large ſize and well ſet, his Stature higher than ordinary, very broad in the Shoulders, and well Cheſted; the reſt of his parts down to his Feet, very proportionable. His Left Hand was ſtronger and nimbler than the Right; his Joynts ſo very firm, that he could force an hole through a green hard Apple with his Finger. He was of a fair Complexion, his Hair hanging ſo low behind, that his Neck was never to be ſeen, which was obſerved to be peculiar to that Family. Of a graceful Look, though he was often troubled with little Pimples, and had very large Eyes;

and, what was ſtrange, could ſee in the Dark, but not far, and that too upon juſt waking, afterwards they grew dim. He carried his Neck very ſtiffy, and a little awry, and appeared for the moſt part very reſerved in his Countenance, and not too free of his Words. He ſeldom or never held any Diſcourſe with his neareſt Friends, being ſlow of Speech, and always uſeing an odd kind of Motion with his Fingers. All which, were looked upon by *Auguſtus* as ſigns of Pride and unbecoming, and he himſelf endeavoured to excuſe them to the Senate and People, alledging they were natural Imperfections, and not the Effects of any ill Habit. He was of a very Healthful Conſtitution, all the while of his Reign ſcarce ever amiſs, though from the thirtieth year of his Age, he took upon himſelf the *Regimen* of his Health, without any Advice and Aſſiſtance from Phyſicians.

69. He was no great Bigot for Religion and the Gods, being a profeſſed Lover of Aſtrology, whoſe Principles naturally lead to Fate and irreſiſtable Neceſſity; yet was he mightily fearful of Thunder, and in a Storm, would always wear a Laurel Crown on his Head, that Tree being vulgarly believed to be free from the ſtroak of Thunder.

70. He made it his Buſineſs to promote and encourage the Liberal Arts of both kinds. In his Stile, he imitated *Corvinus Meſſalla*, whoſe way of ſpeaking he had retained a Kindneſs for from his younger years; but what out of affectation, and a peculiar Moroſeneſs, in his Delivery he was uſually obſcure, ſo that his *Extempore* Talk was better liked of, than when he ſpoke

ſpoke upon Premeditation. He was Author alſo of a Lyrick Poem under this Title, *A Complaint for the Death of* Lucius Cæſar, and ſome *Greek* Verſes he wrote too in imitation of *Euphorion*, *Rhianus*, and *Parthenius*, for which Writers he expreſſed ſo particular an Eſteem, that he ordered their Statues to be ſet up, and their Writings repoſited among the Ancient Authors of beſt repute: And for this very reaſon many of the *Wits* and *Eſprits* of that Age were forward in ſhewing their well liking of them to him. But above all, he was ſollicitous even to the Forfeiture of his Diſcretion, in preſerving the old Fabulous Poetical Jargon. For the Queſtions he uſually propounded to the *Grammarians* (which Cattel, as we have already hinted, he delighted chiefly in) were of this kind; *Who was* Hecuba's *Mother? What was* Achille's *Name, while he lurked among the Wenches at the Boarding-School? What Ballad was that the* Syrens *ſang?* And the very firſt day he entred the Senate after *Auguſtus*'s Death; as if, after the Example of *Minos*, heretofore, at the Death of his Son, he deſigned at once to perform the Offices due to his Father, and the Rites of Religion, he offered *Incenſe* and *Wine*, but omitted the *Wind-Muſick*.

71. The *Greek* Tongue, though he was ſufficiently acquainted with it, he uſed not as his common Diſcourſe, but forbore it eſpecially in the Senate; inſomuch that having occaſion to uſe the Word *Monopolium* there, he did it not without asking their Pardon firſt, for introducing a Foreigner within thoſe Walls. And another time, the Word *Emblema* being inſerted into a Decree, he declared his Opinion, that

either that word ought to be changed for one of the ſame Import of their own, or at leaſt, if that could not be, the thing to be expreſſed by Circumlocution. A *Greek* Soldier being to witneſs in a Cauſe, he pronounced his Evidence void, unleſs it were given in the *Latin* Tongue.

72. The whole time of his Retreat, he endeavoured to return to *Rome* but twice; the firſt time he ventured in his Barge up the *River* as far as the Gardens, near which the *Mock-ſea-Fight* is celebrated, but took care to have his Guards all along the Banks, to hinder any from coming to meet him. Another time, he approached within ſeven Miles of the Town, by the *Appian* way, but contenting himſelf with a ſight of the Place only, returned. The Reaſons of his firſt Return are uncertain; but the latter it ſeems was occaſioned by an extraordinary Accident. He took great delight in a *Dragon* which was brought up tame, and at that time calling for it to feed, he found it devoured by a Neſt of Ants, which ſerved as a Warning to him to keep out of the Clutches of the *Mobile*. But making too much haſte in his Return, he was taken amiſs at *Aſtura* in *Campania*; whence, being ſomewhat amended, he removed to *Circei*; where, to diſguiſe his Indiſpoſition and Weakneſs, he was not only preſent at their Sport, but himſelf encountred a Boar in the *Area*, and ſlew him with his Darts; but overheating himſelf in the Exerciſe, and taking cold upon it, he was ſtruck with a *Pleuriſie*, and relapſed into a worſe Condition than ever. Yet he bore it out well a great while, and during his Journey as far as *Miſenum*, omitted

ted nothing of his daily courſe of Life, not ſo ſo much as his Entertainments, and other publick Delights; and this out of Intemperance partly, and partly Diſſimulation: For *Charicles* his Phyſician, at a publick Feaſt, having obtained leave to be abſent for ſome time, and taking up his hand with a deſign to kiſs it before he went, he ſuſpected it a Deſign to feel his Pulſe, and ordered him to ſit down again, and lengthened out the Entertainment. Nay, after it was over, he continued his old Cuſtom, ſtanding in the middle of the Room with an Officer by him, and taking leave of them Man by Man when they departed.

73. After this, reading in the Journal of the Senate, that ſome Perſons were diſmiſſed without being tryed, becauſe he had ſignified only, that there had been Informations againſt them without ſpecifying their particular Crimes; he took this for an inſupportable Contempt, and reſolved one way or other for *Capreæ* again; not daring to ſtir in the Buſineſs till he was where he might do it ſafely. But being hindred by the continual ſtormy Weather, and his Diſtemper continually growing upon him, in ſome time he breathed his laſt the 16th. of *March*, at the Country Houſe of *Lucullus*, in the 78th. year of his Life, *Cn. Acerronius Proculus*, and *C. Pontius Niger* being then *Conſuls*. Some think that *Caius* gave him a Poiſon that wrought upon him by ſlow degrees; others, that they would give him no Meat, though his Fever were quite gone off from him; and ſome, that he was ſtifled with a Pillow, having inquired for a Ring that was taken off his Finger in a Swoon, after he recovered out of it.

Seneca delivers, *that finding his time but ſhort, he took off his Ring with a ſhew as if he deſigned to beſtow it on ſome body; after that, again put it on his Finger, and graſping his left hand cloſe, lay for ſome time without any Senſe or Motion; then on the ſudden recovering himſelf, called for his Attendants, but none appearing, roſe out of his Bed, and his Spirits failing him, died on the Place.*

74. The laſt Birth-day he ever kept, having fetched a Statue of *Apollo Teminites* from *Syracuſe*, with a Deſign to place it in the Library of the *New Temple*, he ſaw the God in a Dream, who told him, *He could not be dedicated by him.* And a few days before his Death, the Watch-tower of *Capreæ* was thrown down by an Earth-quake. And at *Miſenum*, the Coals which were brought to air his Chamber, after they had been extinguiſhed and cold for ſome time, in the Evening burſt out again into a Fire, and continued burning till late at night.

75. So tranſported were all People with the News of his Death, that from the very firſt notice of it they gathered in Companies in the open Street; ſome crying out, *To the* Tiber *with* Tiberius; others making it their Prayer to the *Mother of the Gods, and the Infernal Manes, that he might be allowed no place but among the Wicked*; and ſome were for dragging his Body with the *Hooks*, and throwing it down the *Gemoniæ*, being provoked not only by his former Barbarities, but an Inſtance then freſh in their Memories, which take as follows: It had paſſed into a Decree of *Senate*, that no Perſon condemn'd ſhould ſuffer within Ten days after he had received Condemnation; now ſo it happened, that the very day they heard the News of *Tiberius*'s

rius's Death, was Execution day with ſome Perſons, they Petitioned hard for a Reprieve; but becauſe *Caius* was abſent, there was no body to whom Applications might be made for them: ſo the Keepers, in whoſe Cuſtody they were, that they might appear punctual in obſerving the Decree, ſtrangled them privately, and threw their Bodies down the *Gemoniæ*. This Accident exaſperated the People againſt him, as if Death could not put a Period to his Cruelty. When his Body was to be removed from *Miſenum*, they cryed out all together, *That* Atella *was the propereſt place to have him to, to be half burnt there in the Theatre*; yet the Soldiers brought him to *Rome*, where he was burnt with the uſual Solemnities.

76. About two years before he died, he made two Wills, one under his own Hand, and the other by his Free-man, both to the ſame effect, witneſſed by ſome of inferior Condition. By this Will he left his Eſtate equally between *Caius* his Grandſon by *Germanicus*, and *Tiberius* by *Druſus*, with proviſo, that if either failed, then the other ſhould inherit the whole. He gave Legacies alſo to moſt, *as the Veſtals*, the Soldiers, and the Commons, to every Man; but to the Governours of every Ward extraordinary.

THE

C. CÆSAR. CALIGULA

THE LIFE OF C. CÆSAR CALIGULA.

Done into *Engliſh* by *M. E.* Gent.

1. *GERMANICUS* the Father of *Caius Cæſar*, and the Son of *Druſus* by *Antonia*, the ſecond Daughter of *Octavia* (who was *Auguſtus's* Siſter) after his Adoption by his Uncle *Tiberius*, though he wanted five years of the qualification of Age requir'd by the Laws, immediately enjoy'd the Office of Quæſtor, and in ſome time after, the Honour of the Conſulate. When the News of *Auguſtus's* Death came to the Army which he commanded in *Germany*, all the Legions with great obſtinacy rejecting *Tiberius*, unanimouſly offered him the Government of the Empire; but with as much reſolution and generoſity of Mind, as dutiful reſpect to his Father, he ſtopp'd the Mutiny of the Soldiers, and preſently after, defeated the Enemy and triumphed. After this, being the ſecond time created Conſul, but not acting in that Station, he was ſent away like one baniſh'd, to ſettle the Affairs of the Eaſt; and having there ſubdu'd the King of *Armenia*, and made *Cappadocia*

cia a *Roman* Province, he decay'd at *Antioch* with a ſlow Diſeaſe, and dy'd in the Thirty fourth year of his Age. Several concurrent Indications occaſion'd a ſuſpicion of Poyſon; for beſides the livid Spots which appear'd upon his Body, and an unuſual Froth flowing at his Mouth, after he was conſum'd to Aſhes at the Solemnization of his Funeral, his Heart was found untouch'd amongſt the Bones, and the nature of that, they ſay, is ſuch, that if ting'd with Poyſon, it can't be deſtroy'd with Fire.

2. His Death was univerſally imputed to the ſecret Contrivance of *Tiberius*, and the inſtrumental Aſſiſtance of *Cn. Piſo*, who being about that time advanc'd to the Government of *Syria*, openly declar'd that he thought himſelf under a neceſſity of diſobliging either the Father or the Son; for which reaſon, he ſo far exceeded the Meaſures of common Humanity, that he abuſed *Germanicus* even in his Sickneſs, to ſo high a degree, with contumelious Language; and acted againſt him with ſo much barbarous Cruelty, that at his return to *Rome*, he narrowly eſcap'd the Fury of the People, and was condem'd to Death by the Senate.

3. He excell'd certainly the reſt of Mankind in all the Accompliſhments of Mind and Perfections of Body; his Shape was curious, his Strength and Courage great; he was Maſter of all the *Roman* and *Grecian* Eloquence, and his Parts were refin'd with the Learning of both Tongues; he had a ſweetneſs of Temper, almoſt peculiar to himſelf; his Humour was extreamly pleaſing, and he had a moſt wonderful way of winning the Hearts, and prevailing over the Affections of all he converſed with; the

the ſlenderneſs of his Legs indeed did not altogether anſwer the fineneſs of his Make in other reſpects, but they too in time were filled up, and became proportionable, by a conſtancy of Riding after Meals. He oftentimes perſonally encountred the Enemy; he did not diſdain to plead in the Courts of Judicature, though he had triumph'd; and amongſt ſeveral other Teſtimonies of his Wit, he left behind him ſome *Greek* Comedies. He every where behaved himſelf with great Civility and Condeſcenſion. To ſuch Towns as were free or confederate, he went without his Lictors. If he underſtood that any famous Man was buried near the Place where he happened to come, he ſacrific'd and ſolemniz'd his Memory. He laid all together in one Tomb, the ſcatter'd Reliques of thoſe that were kill'd in the great Slaughter of *Varus*'s Legions, and was the firſt that began to collect them, and to carry them to the Place with his own hands. He was of ſo mild a Diſpoſition, and could ſo eaſily forgive the Slanders of his greateſt Enemies, that though *Piſo* invalidated his Decrees, and moleſted ſuch as were under his Protection, yet he never reſented any thing, till he perceiv'd his Malice was arriv'd to that heighth, that he endeavour'd his Deſtruction by Magical Charms and Execrations; and even then he only diſclaim'd his Friendſhip, according to the Cuſtom, and laid upon his Servants an Injunction of Revenge, if any extraordinary Diſaſter ſhould befal him.

4. He enjoy'd the great advantage of ſo many excellent Qualities; for he was ſo much admir'd, and entirely belov'd by his Relations, that

that *Auguſtus* (not to mention any others) after he had been in ſuſpence for a conſiderable time, whether he ſhould make him his next and immediate Succeſſor, at laſt recommended him to the Adoption of *Tiberius*. He was ſo much the darling of the People, that at his going into any Place, or leaving it, his Life was often endanger'd by the officious preſſing of the Multitude; but at his return, after he had appeas'd the Sedition of the Soldiers in *Germany*, they gave a more remarkable Inſtance of their Love; for not only all the *Prætorian* Bands march'd out, though but two had receiv'd ſuch Orders, but the People of *Rome*, of whatſoever Age, Sex, or Quality, as it were flow'd out like a Stream, and met him at the diſtance of twenty miles from the City.

5. But beſides all this, both at the time of his Death, and afterwards, the People gave more evident demonſtrations of their Affection to him. When they heard of his Death, they caſt Stones at the Images of their Deities, and pull'd down their Altars; many threw away their peculiar Houſhold Gods, and expos'd their Infants: moreover, 'tis reported that ſome barbarous People which were then engag'd in Wars amongſt themſelves, nay, with us too, agreed upon a Ceſſation of Arms, as if it had been ſome common Calamity which each particular Nation was oblig'd to lament; divers petty Princes cut their Beards, and commanded their Ladies to ſhave their Heads, both which were expreſſions of extream Sorrow; nay, even the great *Parthian* King is ſaid to have left off his Hunting, and not to have feaſted with his Nobles, which he never omitted but in ſuch diſturbed times, in which,

which, the Administration of Justice likewise ceased.

6. At *Rome*, when they first heard the News of his Sickness, and the whole City in great Consternation and much Grief, waited still for fresh Intelligence, though the News came not from any good Hands; yet when his Recovery was rumour'd, towards the Evening, they ran from all Parts with Torches and Sacrifices to the Capitol, and were so impatient, that they were ready to force the Doors, lest any thing should hinder them from finishing the Vows which they had made for his Health. *Tiberius* was disturb'd in the Night with the Noise of their Congratulations, while they went about all the Streets of the City, repeating this Verse; *Rome's safe, our Countries safe*, Germanicus *is safe*. But when it was told them he was certainly dead, the general Sorrow of the People could neither be diverted or allay'd, or forbidden by the Emperors Edict, but lasted during all the Festivals of *December*. The Severity also of the succeeding Times added much to the Reputation of the deceas'd, and heightned the desire of him in the People; for many thought (and indeed with good reason) that he aw'd *Tiberius*, and restrain'd that Cruelty which afterwards broke out.

7. He married *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *M. Agrippa* and *Julia*, and had by her nine Children; two dy'd in their Infancy, and another was snatch'd away as he was just arriv'd at the years of puerility, which was a Child of so much charming sweetness, that his Effigies was dress'd up in the Habit of *Cupid*, and set up by *Livia* in the Temple of *Venus Capitolina*; and *Augustus* de-

lighted in him so extreamly, that he plac'd his little Statue in his Bed-chamber, and always kiss'd it when he went in. The rest, which were three Daughters, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla* and *Livilla*, born successively in three years; and three Sons, *Nero*, *Drusus* and *Caius Cæsar*, survivd their Father. *Nero* and *Drusus*, at the Accusation of *Tiberius*, were branded by the Senate as Enemies to the Republique; *Caius* succeeded in the Empire.

8. *Caius Cæsar* was born upon the last day of *August*, in the Consulship of his Father, and *C. Fonteius Capito*. The variety of Accounts makes the Place of his Nativity uncertain. Cn. *Lentulus Getulicus* tells us, he was born at *Tibur*; *Pliny*, in the Country of *Treves* at * *Ambiatinum* near *Confluents*; and the reason he gives for his Opinion, is, that Altars were to be seen there with this Inscription; *For the safe Delivery of* Agrippina. The Distich which was so commonly repeated after he was Emperor, makes it seem probable that he was born in some place where his Fathers Army was in Winter Quarters;

* Now Capelle upon the Rhine.

He that was born in Tents, and bred in War,
Was sure by Fate design'd for Emperor.

But for my part, I find by the Records that he was born at *Antium*. *Pliny* confutes *Getulicus*, and says, he intended only to flatter the ambitious young Prince, by making a Town which was sacred to *Hercules* to be the Place of his Birth, that so from thence he might raise a Theme for Panegyrick and Applause; and accuses him for stretching and improving his Forgery with that Impudence as he does, in regard

gard *Germanicus* had had another Son born almoſt a year before, who was alſo call'd by the Name of *C. Cæſar*, of whoſe Amiable Infancy and Death we have already ſpoken. But as for *Pliny* the very Computation of Chronology is ſufficient to evict him of untruth; for that they who have deliver'd to Poſterity the Acts of *Auguſtus*, all agree that *Germanicus* was ſent into *Gallia* ſo ſoon as his Conſulſhip was expir'd, at what time *Caius* was already born. Nor will the Inſcription upon the Altar any thing conduce to fortifie *Pliny*'s Opinion, in regard that *Agrippina* had been brought to Bed of two Daughters in that Country; and that the word *Puerperium* may be apply'd to any of her Lyings-in, without any diſtinction of Sex; it being the Cuſtom of the Ancients to call little Girls *Pueræ*, as they did little Boys *Puelli*. There is alſo extant an Epiſtle written by *Auguſtus* to his Grand-daughter *Agrippina*, concerning this *Caius* (for at that time there was no other Infant ſurviving of that Name) *Yeſterday I gave order that* Talarius *and* Aſellius *ſhould bring hither the little* Caius, *if the Gods ſo pleas'd, upon the Seventeenth of* May. *I ſend to attend him alſo a Phyſician, one of my own Servants, whom I have written to* Germanicus, *that he may keep with him, if he thinks it convenient. Farewel, my dear* Agrippina, *and make much of thy ſelf, that thou maiſt be in health when thou meeteſt thy* Germanicus. Hence I am apt to believe, that it is ſufficiently apparent, that *Caius* could not be born in a Country, whither he was not carry'd from the City, before he was almoſt two years old. The ſame Evidences likewiſe enervate the Credit of thoſe little Verſes, ſo much

the rather becauſe their Author was never known. And therefore we are only to be guided by the Authority of the Regiſters and publick Inſtruments; more eſpecially ſince we find that *Caius* preferr'd * *Antium* before all his other Houſes of Pleaſure and private Retirements; and always had a kindneſs for it as the Place of his Nativity; inſomuch that he is reported to have deſign'd the Tranſlating the Seat of the Empire thither, as being quite weary of *Rome*.

* *Now* Antio Rovinato, *formerly the chief City of the* Volſci, *and famous for the Temple of* Fortune.

9. The Sirname of *Caligula* was given him by way of Merriment in the Camp, where he was train'd up in the habit of a Common Soldier. Which Conſuetude and Familiarity of Education, how much it had won upon their Affection and Favour, was apparent by this, that when after the Death of *Auguſtus*, they were all in a raging Mutiny, and with headlong fury running into Confuſion and Slaughter, the only ſight of his Perſon calm'd their Madneſs. Nor would they then be pacifi'd neither, till they underſtood that he was prevail'd with to retire from the danger of the Tumult, and to be ſent away to the next City. But then repenting of what they had done, they ſtopp'd the Chariot, and humbly beſought him that they might not feel the Effects of his deſerv'd Diſpleaſure for the raſhneſs of their Folly.

10. He accompany'd his Father in his Expedition into *Syria*. Thence returning, he remain'd at firſt with his Mother; but ſhe being baniſh'd, his next Reſidence was with his Great Grand-Mother *Livia Auguſta*. Who dying not long after, he ſpoke her Funeral Oration

on before the *Roſtra*, tho then but a Youth, in his *Gown fac'd with Purple Silk. After that he went to his Grand-Mother *Antonia*, and from her being ſent for to *Capreæ* by *Tiberius*, in one and the ſame day he put on his *Gown of Manhood*, and ſhav'd his Beard. But without that State and Ceremony which was us'd when his Brothers were admitted into the ſame Condition. Here, though all the Craft and Treachery was us'd by *Tiberius*'s Agents to provoke and exaſperate him againſt the Emperor, to the end they might lay hold of his Words, they never could pick the leaſt hole in his Coat. He ſeem'd to have forgot the Misfortunes of his Family, as if nothing had befallen him; and for his own Sufferings, he paſſed them by with an Incredible diſſimulation; behaving himſelf with ſo much duty and reſpect to his Grand-Father and thoſe that were about him, that it was not undeſervedly ſaid of him, *Never was a better Servant, nor a worſe Maſter.*

* *Which ſort of Gown, called* Prætexta, *all the Children of the* Roman *Nobility wore at that time.*

11. Nevertheleſs he could not refrain from diſcovering ſome Symptoms of a Cruel and Wicked Diſpoſition; which made him take delight to behold the Puniſhments and Executions of Offenders. The Nights he alſo ſpent in haunting Brothel-Houſes, and meeting upon Adulterous Aſſignations, diſguis'd in a Perriwig and a long Gown; beſides that he was moſt paſſionately addicted to Dancing, Singing, and all the Allurements of the Stage. All which *Tiberius* willingly conniv'd at, in hopes the Savageneſs of his Nature might be tam'd and ſoftned by thoſe more Effeminate and charming Exerciſes. For the Perſpicacious Old Man had div'd ſo far into his Evil Inclinations, that he would

oft times ſay by way of Prediction, *That* Caius *liv'd to his own and the Ruin of all Mankind, and that he bred up a Water Serpent to ſuck the Blood of the* Romans, *and a* Phaeton *to ſet all the World on Fire.*

12. Not long after he took to Wife *Junia Claudilla* the Daughter of *M. Silanus*, a Perſon of Illuſtrious Nobility. And then being deſign'd *Augur* in the Place of his Brother *Druſus*, before he was inaugurated and came to be admitted into the Colledge, he was advanc'd to the Pontificate, with ſignal Teſtimonies of his Piety and good Nature. And then it was, that finding the Imperial Family lay'd waſte and deſolate, as having no ſupport of Male Iſſue but himſelf, *Sejanus* being already ſuſpected, and ſoon after cut off, he began to conceive ſome hopes of the Succeſſion. Which that he might the more corroborate, having loſt his Wife *Junia* in Child-bed, he courted to his Adultrous Embraces *Ennia Nevia*, the Wife of *Macro*, Captain of the *Pretorian* Cohorts, promiſing her Marriage if he obtain'd the Empire; which Promiſe he confirm'd by Oath, and by a Contract alſo under his Hand and Seal. By means of this Ambitious Woman having inſinuated himſelf into *Macro*'s Affection, he attempted, as ſome believe, to remove *Tiberius* by Poyſon; and as he lay gaſping commanded his Ring to be taken off his Finger. But then perceiving the Emperor unwilling to let it go, and making a kind of a faint reſiſtance, he order'd the Pillow to be drawn from under his Head, and clapping it to his Mouth, held it down with his own Hands, till he was quite dead. At what time one of *Tiberius*'s

him's Enfranchiz'd Bondmen crying out at the ſight of ſuch a horrid Act, he was immediately hang'd up out of the way. Nor is it any way improbable, in regard there are ſome who poſitively affirm, that he himſelf did afterwards make an open Confeſſion of a Parricide, if not compleated, yet formerly by him deſign'd: For he was wont to make his daily brags, among the reſt of his Acts of Piety by him at the ſame time Commemorated, *That to Revenge the Murder of his Mother and his Brothers, he enter'd* Tiberius's *Bed-Chamber, as he lay faſt aſleep, with a Dagger in his Hand; but that mov'd with Compaſſion, he ſheath'd the Weapon, and retir'd: and that* Tiberius, though he were ſenſible of it, neither durſt make any enquiry after him, or endeavour a Revenge.

13. Thus he obtain'd the Empire, to the wiſh of the People of *Rome*, or as I may rather ſay, of all Mankind; a Prince deſir'd by all the Provincials and Soldiers, the moſt of which had known him from his Infancy; but more eſpecially dear to the Common People and Citizens of *Rome*, out of the Affection which they bore to the Memory of *Germanicus* his Father, and their Compaſſion upon his diſtreſſed and almoſt extinguiſh'd Family. Therefore upon his Removal from *Miſenum*, though he were in Mourning and attending upon the Corps of *Tiberius*, yet he rode in the midſt of the Altars, Victims, and Flaming Torches, ſurrounded with an Infinite and Joyful Throng of thoſe that came to meet him; beſides the Lucky Appellations of *Father*, *Prince*, *Pious*, *Happy*, *Great*, &c. calling him alſo their *Star*, their

Chicken, their *Darling*, and their *Foſter Child.*

14. And when he enter'd the City, immediately by the conſent of the Senate, and the Crowd that broke into the Senate-houſe, the Will of *Tiberius* was made void, by which the Deceaſed Emperor had left him only Coheir with another of his Grand-children, who had not yet left off his Habit of a Youth; and the abſolute Soveraignty and Management of all Affairs was deliver'd up entire into his Hands, with ſuch a Univerſal and publick Joy, that within the three next enſuing Months, or hardly ſo much, there was no leſs than a Hundred and ſixty thouſand Victims reported to have been ſlain. And whereas within a few days after he croſs'd over into the Iſlands bordering upon the Coaſt of *Campania*, Vows were made for his ſafe return; not any one omitting the leaſt occaſion to teſtifie their tender and ſollicitous care of his welfare. But when he happen'd to fall ſick, while the People ſate up all night long in heaps about the Palace, ſome proffer'd to venture their Lives in ſingle * Combat for his Recovery, and others devoted themſelves to death upon the ſame account, poſting up Bills of their Reſolutions in the Streets, to be taken notice of. And this Immenſe Affection of the Citizens was accompany'd alſo with a ſignal Reſpect and Veneration of Foreign Princes. For *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, who both hated and contemn'd *Tiberius*, ſought his Alliance and Friendſhip of his own accord, and condeſcending to a Perſonal Conference with the Conſular Legate, after he had croſs'd *Euphrates*, Ador'd the

* *Out of an ancient Opinion, that the Life of the Prince might be ſav'd by throwing away their own.*

the *Roman* Eagles and the Statues of the *Cæsars*.

15. He himſelf alſo inflam'd the Affection of the People by all manner of Popular Inſinuations. He ſpoke *Tiberius*'s Funeral Oration with Tears in his Eyes, before the whole Aſſembly, and Enterr'd him with moſt Manificent Pomp. He alſo haſten'd with all the ſpeed imaginable to the Iſlands of * *Pandataria* and † *Pontia*, to remove the Aſhes of his Mother and Brother, in a Stormy and tempeſtuous Seaſon, to the end his Piety might ſeem the more Conſpicuous; and making his approaches to their Sepulchers with a more than common Veneration, put the Aſhes into their Urns with his own hands. With no leſs gay Formality and outward diſguiſe of filial and Brotherly Affection, having brought them firſt to *Oſtia*, and then to *Rome*, with a Banner waving in the Poop of his Gally, he carry'd them through a Lane on both ſides of the *Equeſtrian* Order, and at Noon-day in the view of all the People, put them into the *Mauſoleum*. Moreover he appointed certain ſolemn Sacrifices to be publickly and annually offer'd to their Ghoſts by way of Attonement; and more than that, he inſtituted *Circenſian* Games in Honour of his Mothers Memory, and order'd a Chariot for her Statue to be carry'd in Pomp. And that he might not ſeem to be unmindful of his Father, in Commemoration of him, he call'd the Month of September *Germanicus*. After all this, upon his Grand-mother *Antonia*, by one ſingly Decree of the Senate, he heap'd at once, all the Honours that ever *Livia Auguſta* had receiv'd in all her Life-time. *Claudius* his Uncle by

* *Now* St^a. Maria.
† *Now* Ponza.

by the Fathers ſide, he made his Colleague in the Conſulſhip, who till that time was no more than only a Gentleman of *Rome*. His Brother *Tiberius* he Adopted upon the day that he aſſum'd the *Virile Gown*, and call'd him *Prince of the Youth*. In reference to his Siſters he Ordain'd, that theſe Words ſhould be added to all the Oaths taken by the Soldiers, NEITHER DO I ESTEEM MY SELF NOR MY CHILDREN MORE DEARLY THAN *CAIUS* AND HIS SISTERS. Alſo that the Conſuls ſhould inſert theſe Words in all their Publick Acts and Reports, WISHING ALL HAPPINESS TO C. *CÆSAR* AND HIS SISTERS. With the ſame Popularity he ſet forth a General Pardon for all that were Condemn'd and Baniſh'd; and forgave all paſt Offences and Crimes, whatever remain'd unpuniſh'd. All Records, Regiſters and Informations fil'd up in Court againſt his Mother and his Brothers, to rid the Accuſers and Witneſſes from all future fears, he caus'd to be carry'd into the Market-place and there publickly burnt, after he had call'd the Gods to Witneſs that he never read or ſo much as touch'd any one of them. Nor would he vouchſafe reading of a little Book which was Preſented him, containing certain Expedients for the better preſervation of himſelf, alledging for his Reaſon, *That he had not done any thing to deſerve the Hatred of any Man*, and deny'd that his Ears were open to the Informations of Accuſers.

16. The *Spintriæ*, or Inventreſſes of Monſtrous *Coitions*, after he had been with great ſeeming difficulty prevail'd with, not to throw them

them into the Sea ty'd up in Sacks, he expell'd the City. He order'd the Writings of *Titus Labienus*, * *Cordus Cremutius*, and *Caſſius Severus*, which had been ſuppreſt by Decree of Senate, to be Republiſh'd for every one to read; affirming that it was for his Intereſt to have the Actions of Great People, be they what they would, tranſmitted to Poſterity. The Method and Model of the Empire, ſet forth by *Auguſtus*, but ſtiff'd by *Tiberius*, he order'd to be made publick. To the Magiſtrates alſo he granted free and Abſolute Juriſdiction, without reſerving any Appeal to himſelf. He took a Review of the *Roman* Knights with great Severity and Curioſity, yet not without Moderation, taking away their Horſes in the ſight of all the People, where he found any of them notoriouſly Scandalous or Infamous; but as for thoſe that were guilty of ſmall Offences, he only paſs'd over their Names in reciting the Liſt. And to eaſe the Judges overlaid with Multiplicity of Buſineſs, to the Four which *Auguſtus* had enlarg'd, he had added a Fifth † *Decurie*. He alſo attempted to have renew'd the Ancient Cuſtom at the Aſſemblies for the Election of Magiſtrates, by reſtoring to the People their former freedom of Suffrage. The Legacies left by *Tiberius* in his laſt Will and Teſtament, though it were cancell'd, as alſo thoſe bequeath'd by *Livia Auguſta*, which *Tiberius* had ſup-

* Cremutius *had wrote a Book of Annals, wherein he had applauded* Brutus *and* Caſſius, *much like* Killing no Murder *in our Times*: Severus *was one that made it his Buſineſs to Lampoon the Nobility, both Men and Women; and 'tis probable that the Writings of* Labienus *were much of the ſame Nature.*

† *The* Decuriæ *were a certain Number of Judges divided into ſeveral Companies or* Decuries; *of which there were but three at firſt,* Auguſtus *added a 4th. and* Caligula *a Fifth. Theſe Judges upon any Citation from the Prætors were to give their Aſſiſtance in the Court upon the Day by the Prætors appointed.*

preſs'd

preſs'd, he caus'd to be faithfully and without the leaſt murmuring diſcharg'd. He alſo remitted the Impoſition of the hundredth Penny upon all Auctions and Sales throughout *Italy*. He made good to ſeveral the Loſſes which they had ſuſtain'd by Fire. And if he reſtor'd to any Princes their Kingdoms, he alſo repaid them the Tributes and Profits of their Revenues, which had been receiv'd during the time of their Diſſeizure; as he did in particular to *Antiochus* King of *Comagene*; to whom he return'd a Confiſcation of a Hundred thouſand Crowns. And to the end there might not be any good Example of which he would not be the Favourer and Encourager, he gave to a Woman that had been once a Servant, Two thouſand Crowns, becauſe that after all the Torments which they put her to, ſhe would not diſcover any thing of the Crime which her Maſter had committed. For which Reaſons, among other Honours, a Statue of Gold was decreed him, bearing a Buckler of the ſame Metal, which the Colleges of the Prieſts were alſo order'd every year to carry to the Capitol, attended by the whole Senate in Proceſſion, and the Childern of the Nobility ſinging Verſes, all the way, compos'd in Muſick to his Praiſes. Farther alſo it was Decreed, that the Day upon which he began his Empire, ſhould be call'd * *Palilia*, as if the City had then reflouriſh'd, when he came to the Imperial Throne.

* *Which were the Feaſts of* Pales *the Goddeſs of the Spring.*

17. He was four times Conſul; the firſt time two Months, from the firſt of *July*; the ſecond time, Thirty days from the Firſt of *January*; the third time to the *Ides* of *January*, and the fourth to the

the Seventh day after the *Ides* of the ſame Month. Of all which, he joyn'd the two laſt ſucceſſively together; but the third he enter'd upon at *Lyons* without any Colleague; not out of any Pride or Careleſneſs, but becauſe at ſuch a diſtance he could not have timely Intelligence of the Death of his Colleague, who dy'd upon the very day of the *Calends*. He twice diſtributed a Largeſs to the People of three hundred *Seſterces* a Man; and as many times Magnificently feaſted the *Senate* and the *Equeſtrian* Order, with their Wives and Children: at the end of the latter of which Entertainments, to the Men he preſented every one a Garment, ſuch as they wore in the *Forum*; and to the Women and Children Purple and Scarlet Favours.

18. He added alſo one Day to the *Saturnalian Holy-days*, and call'd it *Juvenalis*. He alſo exhibited, for the Recreation of the People, ſeveral Gladiatory Combats, partly in the *Amphitheater* erected by *Statilius Taurus*, partly within the Rails belonging to the Field of *Mars*; among which he intermix'd whole Crowds of *African* and *Campanian* Wreſtlers, the choiceſt he could cull out of both thoſe Regions. Nor would he always preſide himſelf at thoſe Shews, but gave that Honour ſometimes to the Magiſtrates, and ſometimes to his familiar Favourites. As for Comedies and Farces he had them frequently Acted, of various ſorts, and at various Hours; and ſometimes in the Night time, by the Light of Torches flaming all over the City. And at theſe gaudy Shews he caus'd to be flung about among the People ſeveral ſorts of Silver Toys and Medals, and ſent little Wicker Baskets of dry'd Meats

to

to be diſtributed Man by Man among the Spectators; and one time above the reſt, obſerving a *Roman* Knight that ſate over againſt him to feed more heartily and with a better Stomach than the reſt, he ſent him his own ſhare alſo. To a certain Senator likewiſe for the ſame Reaſon, he ſent his *Codicils*, whereby he appointed him *Prætor* before his time. He alſo gratifi'd them with ſeveral *Circenſian* Games from Morning till the Evening, interpoſing ſometimes the bayting of *Panthers*, and ſometimes Racing and Tilting after the *Trojan* manner. And ſome of theſe Games were ſo Magnificent, that to ſet them off, the *Circus* was painted with Vermillion and Green, and none admitted to manage the Chariots but Perſons of the *Senatorian* Degree. Sometimes alſo he would order theſe Races of a ſudden, at the Requeſt of ſome few that were ſtanding in the Balconies adjoyning to the *Gelotian* Palace, where he ſtood to behold the Preparations for the more ſolemn Games deſign'd.

19. He alſo invented a new and unheard of ſort of Spectacle. For having got together a great number of Veſſels built on purpoſe for the ſtowing of Merchandize, and chain'd them two and two together in the ſpace between *Baiæ*, and the Moles of *Puteoli*, he made a Bridge of Three Miles and ſix hundred Paces in length, and cover'd it with Earth, over which he paſſed too and fro, for two days ſucceſſively one after another: The firſt day mounted upon a Horſe Magnificently Capariſon'd, himſelf Crown'd with a Garland of Oaken Leaves, a * Battel-Ax in one Hand, a round Target in the other, and his Imperial Mantle

* *The Ancient Arms of the Amazonians.*

Mantle of Cloth of Gold thrown over his Shoulders: The next day in the Habit of a *Charioteer*, in a little Chariot drawn by two Courſers * remarkable for their Names; a young Youth whoſe Name was *Darius*, one of the *Parthian* Hoſtages ſitting before him, and attended by a Band of the *Prætorian* Guards, and ſeveral of his Friends in their gay Calaſhes. I know very well that many People believed that this Bridge was invented by *Caius*, out of an Emulation of *Zerxes*, who to the admiration of the World, had layd a Floor of Planks over the *Helleſpont*, which was not much narrower than this Paſſage: Others that it was to terrifie *Germany* and *Brittain*, upon which he was then deſigning a War, by the report of ſome Prodigious Undertaking. But I have heard my Grand-Father ſay, when I was a Boy, that the Reaſon of this Enterprize, which was afterwards diſcover'd by ſome of his Intimate Courtiers, proceeded from an Expreſſion of *Thraſyllus* the *Mathematician*, who when *Tiberius* was at a ſtand whom to make his Heir, but more inclin'd to his true Grand-child, affirm'd, *That it was as impoſſible for* Caius *to be Emperor, as for him to ride a Horſeback over the Bay of* Baiæ.

* *Such were* Adraſtus's Arion, *and* Caſtor's Cyllanus, *and in our time* Strawberry *and* Tregonnel. *For that muſt be the meaning of* Equi Famoſi.

20. In his Travels alſo through the Provinces he preſented the People with ſeveral Shews. In *Sicily*, at *Syracuſe* with *Athenian* Interludes; in *Gallia*, at *Lyons*, with Playes that were neither Tragedies nor Comedies, but Miſcellany Farces. But what was more remarkable then all this, he order'd a Conteſt for Superiority, between the moſt excellent Orators of the *Greek* and

and *Latin* Tongues; in which Contention it is reported that the Vanquiſh'd were to give the Prizes to the Victors at their own charge, and were conſtrain'd to make other Orations in the particular Praiſes of them that had the better. On the other ſide, they who were hiſs'd and utterly diſlik'd, were condemn'd to obliterate their Writings either with a Spunge or with their Tongues, unleſs they rather choſe to be Corrected with Ferula's, or duckt over Head and Ears in the next River.

21. Thoſe Structures which *Tiberius* left imperfect, as the Temple of *Auguſtus*, and *Pompey*'s Theatre, he quite finiſh'd. He laid the Foundations of an *Aquæduct*, in the Road to *Tibur*, and of an *Amphitheatre* in a place adjoyning to the * *Septa*. Of which two Undertakings, the one was finiſh'd by *Claudius* his Succeſſor; the other never meddl'd with. The Walls of *Syracuſe* decay'd with age he repair'd, together with ſeveral Temples of the Gods in that City. He had alſo a deſign to have rebuilt the Palace of *Polycrates* at *Samos*; to finiſh the Temple of *Didymæan Apollo* at *Miletum*; to have built a City upon the top of the *Alps*; but his main Project was to have made an Iſland of the *Peloponneſus*, by cutting through the *Achaian Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea. To which purpoſe he had ſent a Chief Centurion of one of the Legions to ſurvey the Ground.

* *The* Septa *were certain Spaces of Ground rail'd in, where the People were wont to ſtand when they gave their Suffrages.* Lepidus *afterwards environ'd theſe Places on every ſide with a* Portico, *which* Agrippa *after him adorning with Statues and Pictures, call'd* Septa Julia, *in Honour of* Auguſtus.

22. Thus far we have made a recital of his Actions that lookt ſomewhat Prince like; what follows is the Story of a Monſter. Having aſ-

ſum'd

ſum'd many Sirnames (for he call'd himſelf PIOUS, THE SON OF THE CAMP, THE FATHER OF THE ARMIES, AND BEST AND GRFATEST CÆSAR.) Hearing certain Kings, who were come to the City to pay him their Devoires, whom he had invited to Supper, in a great Diſpute among themſelves about the Antiquity and Nobility of their Extraction, he preſently cry'd out, Εἷς κύριος, ἷς θεός, εἷς βασιλεύς. *But one Lord, one King, I beſeech yee.* And he was ſo hot upon it, that he was well neer reſolv'd to have aſſum'd the Regal Diadem, and to have reduc'd the Face of the Government into a Regal form, by changing the Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity. But being inform'd that he was already above all the Kings and Princes in the World, from thence forward he began to challenge Celeſtial Majeſty to himſelf. To that purpoſe he gave Order that all the Statues of the Deities, the moſt Celebrated for the Adoration of Men, and the Excellency of their Workmanſhip, and among the reſt thoſe of *Olympick Jupiter*, ſhould be fetch'd out of *Greece*, that their Heads being taken off, he might fix his own in the Place. He alſo built out one part of his Palace as far as the *Forum*; and ſo contriv'd it, that the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſeem'd to be no more than the *Portico* of his Imperial Manſion; and by that means taking an occaſion to ſit before his own Doors, he would frequently ſhew himſelf in the midſt between his Brother Deities, to be Ador'd by thoſe that came to him about Buſineſs. And ſome there were who out of Flattery brake the Ice, and ſaluted him by the Name

of * *JUPITER LATIALIS.* He also Erected a Temple, which he Dedicated to his own Divinity; and likewise Instituted a College of Priests, and the most exquisite Victims he could think of, for the Service of his Counterfeited God-head. Moreover in the same Temple stood his Statue in Gold, done to the Life, which was every day garbated in such a Robe as he himself was wont to wear. And as for the Functions of the Priesthood, the Richest Men in the City, Ambitious of the Honour, strove who should out-bribe each other to purchase the Dignity, as the Places fell. The Victims were Phœnicopters, Peacocks, Bustards, Turkies, *Numidian* Hens, and Pheasants, which were sorted and every day offered in their several Kinds. And in the Night time, when the Moon was in the Full, and in her brightest Splendour, he courted her to his Embraces and his Bed. But in the day time he would be frequently conversing in private with *Jupiter Capitolinus*, sometimes whispering and laying his Ear to His; sometimes more loud, and not without some kind of menacing Language; as once he was heard to threaten him in these Words,

* *Whose Temple stood upon the* Alban Mount, *Erected by* Tarquin *the Proud to* Jupiter, *who was then worship'd by the* Latins; *and therefore call'd the God of* Latium.

Εἰς γῆιαν Δαναῶν πέμψω.

I'll send thee back to Homely Greece *again.*

Till at length being overcome by the importunate Intercession of the rest of the Gods, and by them, as he himself told his own Story, most earnestly invited into their Society, he laid

laid a Bridge over the Temple of *Divus Auguſtus*, and joyn'd his own Palace to the *Capitol*. Soon after, that he might be yet nearer to his Celeſtial Company, he began the Foundations of a new Houſe in the Court before the *Pantheon*.

23. He would by no means endure to be call'd, or be believ'd to be the Grand-child of *Agrippa*, by reaſon of the meanneſs of her Extraction; and would be highly incens'd if any Perſon either in Proſe or Verſe offer'd to rank him among the Statues of the *Cæſars*. He gave out that his Mother was inceſtuouſly begot by *Auguſtus* upon his Daughter *Julia*: And not contented thus to ſcandalize *Auguſtus*, he forbid the farther Celebration of thoſe *Anniverſaries* that were Decreed in Commemoration of his *Actium* and *Sicilian* Victories. *Livia Auguſta*, his Great Grand-mother, he would frequently call *Ulyſſes in Mans habit*. Nay he did not ſcruple to tax her in an Epiſtle to the Senate for a Woman obſcurely deſcended; her Grand-Father by the Mothers ſide being no more then a Burgeſs of *Fundi*; whereas it is apparent by the publick Regiſters that *Auſidius Lingo* had born ſeveral honourable Employments in *Rome*. He refus'd his Grand-mother *Antonia* the favour to ſpeak with him in private, unleſs in the Preſence of *Macro* Captain of his Guards. By which Indignities and Slights he was the Cauſe of her Death, if he did not give her a Poyſonous draught, which ſome believe, to accelerate her end. Nor did he pay her any other Honour after ſhe was dead, but only to look out at Window upon her Funeral Pile, when it was burning. His Brother *Tiberius*, little

dreaming of his approaching fate, he order'd to be haſtily murder'd by one of the Tribunes of the Soldiers. His Father-in-Law *Silanus*, he compell'd to lay violent hands upon himſelf, and cut his own Throat with a Raſor; laying to the Charge of *Silanus*, that he did not follow him to Sea when he embarqu'd in a Tempeſtuous Seaſon, but ſtaid behind in the City, watching an opportunity to invade the Government, had any Diſaſter befallen him: and alledging that *Tiberius* had kill'd himſelf by taking a wrong Antidote to prevent the Operation of Poyſons; which he found by his Breath. Whereas what *Silanus* did was only to avoid the tumbling of the Sea, which always made him ſick, and the vexatious Toil of Careering in Chariots; and *Tiberius* had only taken a Medicine for a Cold; but for his Uncle *Claudius*, he ſpar'd him for no other Reaſon but to make ſport with him.

24. With every one of his Siſters he was inceſtuouſly familiar; and at all his great Entertainments they were plac'd next below him by turns, while his Wife ſate at the upper End of the Table. Among the reſt, he is reported to have vitiated *Druſilla*, while he was yet but a Youth; and that he was once taken a Bed with her by his Grand-Mother *Antonia*, with whom they were both brought up together. Soon after, being marry'd to *Lucius Caſſius Longinus*, he took her away from him by force, and liv'd with her as if ſhe had been his Wife. Moreover, in the time of his Sickneſs, when he thought he ſhould have dy'd, he Ordain'd her by his Will both Heir to his Eſtate and to the Empire. Upon her deceaſe, he proclaim'd a Ceſſa-

a Ceſſation of all Proceedings in all the Courts of Judicature; during which Vacation, it was a Capital Crime for any Man to laugh, bath, or eat with his Parents, Wife or Children. And ſo impatient he was of his Loſs, that leaving the City of a ſudden and in the Night time, like one that had been forc'd to fly his Country, he poſted through *Campania*, and betook himſelf to *Syracuſe*; from whence at length he return'd with a long Beard and Locks as careleſly untrimm'd. Nor did he afterwards upon any occaſion whatever, either in his Speeches to the People or the Soldiers, ſwear by any other Oath, than by *Druſilla's Deity*. As for his other Siſters he neither lov'd them ſo paſſionately, nor with ſo much reſpect, as he that would frequently proſtitute them to his *Ganimeds*. Which afforded him a more eaſie Opportunity to condemn them, in the Caſe of * *Emilius Lepidus*, for Adultreſſes, and being privy to ſeveral Conſpiracies againſt him. Nor did he only divulge their private Contracts which he had diſcover'd by fraud and the inveigling Debaucheries of the Wives of thoſe whom he ſuſpected, but alſo Conſecrated to *Mars* the *Revenger*, three Swords, which they, as he pretended, had prepar'd for his deſtruction; with a ſhort Relation of the whole Conſpiracy.

* *Of whom* Caligula *was ſore afraid as one that had a fair Title to the Empire; and with whom, in hopes of the Soveraignty,* Agrippina *had committed Adultery.*

25. As to his Marriages, whether he contracted, diſſolv'd, or contriv'd them with moſt Ignominy, is not eaſie to determin. Upon the very day that *Livia Oreſtilla* was Marry'd to *C. Piſo*, he himſelf being preſent at the Weding, he commanded her to be brought home to

his Palace as his own Wife, but within a few days turn'd her off again; and two years after banish'd her, pretending that she had privately Convers'd with her Husband in the mean time. Others report, that being invited to the Nuptial Supper, as he sate over against *Piso*, he sent one to whisper in his Ear these Words, *Forbear to lye with my Wife*; and presently rising from the Table led her home along with him, and the next day set forth a Decree, declaring, *That he was marry'd according to the Example of* Romulus *and* Augustus. *Lollia Paulina* was marry'd to *C. Memmius*, a Person of Consular Degree, and General of the Army; however, upon mention made of her Grandmother, who was accounted one of the most Lovely Ladies of her time, he became so enamour'd of the Grand-child, that he sent for her out of the Province, and forcing her from her Husband, took her to himself; but in a short time he turn'd her likewise off, forbidding her for ever after the knowledge of any Man whatever. But as for *Cesonia*, who was neither handsom nor young, but already the Mother of three Daughters by another Man, he lov'd her so passionately and so constantly, that he would often shew her to his Soldiers riding by his side, with her Horseman's Coat Embroider'd, her Buckler, and Helmet; and frequently stark Naked to his Familiar Favorites. He also vouchsafed her the Name of Wife, declaring at the same time that he was her Husband, and the Father of the Child that was born of her Body. This Infant he call'd *Julia Drusilla*, and having carry'd her about through all the Temples of the Goddesses, he laid her at length in *Minerva's*

nerva's Lap, and recommended her to her Care and Education. Nor did any thing more assure him that she was his own Daughter, then her Natural Cruelty; which was so pregnant in her so soon as she could but run about, that no sport pleas'd her so well, as to poke out the Eyes, and rend the Mouths of her Play-fellows with her Fingers.

26. After these things, it may be thought impertinent and idle to relate how he us'd his Kindred and Friends. *Ptolomy* in the first Place, the Son of King *Juba*, his Cousin German (for he was the Grand-child of *M. Antonius* by his Daughter *Selena*) then *Macro*, and even *Ennia* her self, the two main Instruments that advanc'd him to the Empire; who were all put to death, notwithstanding all the Tyes of Consanguinity, and the Merits of their Important Services. Nor did he behave himself with more Reverence or Lenity toward the Senate; of whom he made several who had born the most Honourable Employments in the Commonwealth, to run by the side of his Calash, for some Miles together, in their Robes; and while he was at Supper, to wait sometimes at the back of his Couch, sometimes at his Feet as he lay, with their Linnen * Aprons before them. Others, after he had privately order'd them to be put to death, nevertheless he would enquire, and send for, as if they had been living, and in a few days after would give out, that they dy'd a natural Death. The Consuls having forgot to give publick notice of his Birth Day, he immediately turn'd out of their Offices; so that the City continu'd for three days without any Magi-

* *As it was the Custom for the Waiters to do.*

ſtrate. His Quæſtor or Treaſurer being only nam'd in a Conſpiracy, he order'd to be ſtripe and ſcourg'd, and his Cloaths to be ſpread under the Soldiers Feet, to the end they might ſtand the firmer and laſh with more Advantage. With the ſame Pride and Violence he us'd the reſt of the Orders. Being diſturb'd by the noiſe of the People that had taken up at Midnight their Places in the *Circus*, for which there was no Money to be paid, he order'd them all to be baſtinado'd out of their Stations; in which Tumult and Hurry, there were above twenty *Roman* Knights, and as many Ladies crouded to death, beſides an infinite number of the Common People. During the time that the Stage-Playes were Acting, on purpoſe that he might ſet the Common People and the Gentlemen together by the Ears, he flung about the Tickets of what he intended to beſtow among the People much ſooner than was uſual, to the end the Gentlemens Seats might be taken up by the Rabble before hand. At the Combats of the Gladiators, when the ſcorching heat of the Sun was hardly to be endur'd, he would draw the Curtains, and command that no body ſhould ſtir out: and altering the Methods uſually obſerv'd in appointing the Combatants, he would order the moſt Feeble, and ſuch as were ſpent with Age; nay ſometimes Gladiators that were no way Criminal, and many times known Houſe-keepers, to be oppos'd to the moſt fierce and ravenous of the Wild Beaſts; and this, for no other Reaſon but becauſe he diſcover'd ſome Blemiſh or Imperfection in their Bodies. And at other times, he would Padlock up the publick Granaries and Magazines

Magazines of Corn, on purpoſe to keep the People without Bread for ſome days together.

27. The Fierceneſs alſo and Cruelty of his Nature was no leſs manifeſt by theſe enſuing Actions: For obſerving that the charges of fatting the Wild Beaſts began to lye heavy upon him, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Carrion, he mark'd out ſeveral Malefactors to be butcher'd for that Service. And after he had caus'd Condemn'd Perſons that lay in Jayle, to be rang'd before him in a row, without ever minding what their Sentences were, and as he ſtood in the midſt of the Gallerie, he order'd the Executioner to take all, * *From Bald-pate to Bald-pate.* He extorted the fulfilling of his Vow from him who had offer'd to Combat for his Recovery, lookt on while the Man was forc'd to Fight for his Life at Sharps, nor would ſuffer him to be parted till he had got the better; and then not without much entreaty neither. Another who had devoted himſelf to death upon the ſame Account, but delaying to perform his Promiſe, he deliver'd over, adorn'd with Garlands, and ſet forth with Ribbands like a Victim, to the Boys, who were to drive him along the Streets, bawling after him for the accompliſhment of his Vow, till he had no way to avoid them but by throwing himſelf headlong from the *Tarquinian Mount*. Many Perſons of good Quality and Condition, after he had firſt branded them with Marks of Infamy as Capital Offenders, he Condemn'd either to the Mines, or to the Reparation of the High-ways,

* *That is to ſay, two Bald-pates happening to ſtand at each end of the Row,* Caligula *to make quick diſpatch, order'd the Slaughter men to ſweep away all together.*

ways, or to Fight with Beasts; otherwise he shut them up in a low Cage, where they were forc'd to crawl upon all four, like Four-footed Animals; or else he order'd them to be saw'd in two in the middle. Nor were any of these thus cruelly tortur'd for any heinous Crimes, but either because they signifi'd their dislike of his *Shows*, or else because they had never been heard to swear by his *Genius*. Many times also he would compel the Parents to be present at the Executions of their Sons: to one of whom, excusing himself by reason of Sickness, he sent a Litter. Another, after he had beheld the bloody Spectacle, he invited to his Table, and with all imaginable Affability and Kindness, excited him to Mirth and Jollity. The *Master* of his *Gladiatory Sights* and Beast-baitings, he caus'd to be loaded with Irons, and drubb'd from Head to Foot for several days together; nor would he rid him out of his Pain by death, till offended with the noisom stench of his putrifi'd Brains he could no longer endure the smell. A *Satyrick* Poet he order'd to be burnt alive upon the Pit of the Amphitheater, for making a Jeast in his Verses that admitted a double Signification. Having order'd a *Roman* Knight to be thrown to the Wild Beasts, upon his crying out aloud that *he was Innocent*, he caus'd him to be brought back; and after he had commanded his Tongue to be cut out, return'd him again to his Condemnation.

28. Having recall'd a certain Person from a long Banishment, he ask'd him how he spent his time all that while? who replying in Flattery, *I pray'd continually to the Gods, that* Tiberius *might dye, as it fell out he did, and that thou might*st

might ſt Succeed: Upon that, believing that all the other Exiles conſequently pray'd for his Death, he ſent to all the diſtant Iſlands to ſend all the Baniſh'd Perſons out of the World. Having a fancy to ſee a Senator torn Limb from Limb, he ſubborn'd certain Villains to ſet upon him, as he enter'd the Senate Houſe, calling him Enemy to the Publick; and after they had ſtab'd him with their Iron Bodkins which they us'd in Writing, to deliver him over to be torn Piece-meal by the reſt of their Companions: Nor was he ſatisfi'd till he ſaw the Members, Joynts, and Bowels of the Man drawn through the Streets and laid in a heap before his Eyes.

29. Theſe Inhumane Barbarities of his were augmented by the terrour of his Savage Expreſſions. For he was wont to ſay, *That he approv'd and applauded nothing ſo much in Nature, as to uſe his own word,* * ἀδιαπτωσίαν. To his Grand-Mother *Antonia*, who gave him good Advice, as if his ſingle diſobedience had not been ſufficient, *Remember*, ſaid he, *that it is lawful for me, and ſuch Maſters as I am, to do what they pleaſe.* When he was deſigning to murder his Brother, whom he ſuſpected to be guarded from Poyſon by Antidotes, *What?* ſaid he, *is there any Antidote dares reſiſt* Cæſar? After he had baniſh'd his Siſters, he threatned them, that he had not only Iſlands but Swords within his Power. A Perſon of *Prætorian* Degree being retir'd to *Anticyra*, to take Hellebore for the Recovery of his Health, and often Petitioning for longer leave to ſtay, he order'd to be put to Death; adding theſe Words to the Sentence, *That Blood-letting was neceſſary, when the ſo long uſe of Hellebore would do no good.*

* *Or an Immoveable Reſolution to perpetrate thoſe Miſchiefs which a Man has once conceived.*

Every

Every Tenth day, when he came to ſubſcribe the Number of ſuch Convicts as were to ſuffer, he call'd it, *Making up his Accompts with his Servants.* Having Condemn'd ſeveral *Gauls* and *Greeks* all together at the ſame time, he made his Boaſts, *That he had ſubdu'd* Gallo-Græcia.

30. He ſeldom ſuffer'd any one to be haſtily put to death, but by degrees, with ſlight and frequently reiterated Blows or Stabs, according to a known Maxim of his which he had always in his Mouth, *That it ought ſo to be done, as that the Perſon might feel himſelf dye.* Another time having caus'd a wrong Perſon to be Executed, through the miſtake of his Name, *'T'is no matter,* ſaid he, *they deſerv'd both alike.* He had often that Tragical Expreſſion in his Mouth,

Oderint, dum metuant.

Let them hate, ſo they fear.

He would frequently inveigh againſt all the Senators alike, as either *Sejanus*'s Creatures, or the Informers againſt his Mother and his Brothers; producing the Papers which he pretended were burnt, and defending the Severity of *Tiberius*, as neceſſary, ſince he could not but believe ſo many Accuſers. He daily upbraided the *Equeſtrian* Order, as being ſo much Devoted to the Stage and the Pit. Being highly offended at the Multitude for favouring that Party of the *Charioteers*, call'd the *Vermillion-Coats*, which always ran againſt his Party, that were the *Green-Coats*, he cry'd out, *Would to God the People*

People of Rome *had had but one Neck.* When *Tetrinius* the Highway-man was accus'd, he ſaid, *They were all* Tetrinii *themſelves that accus'd him.* Five * *Retiarii* fighting in their cloſe Coats, without any reſiſtance yielded to as many † *Purſuers*; whereupon being order'd to be put to Death, one of the *Retiarii* ſnatching up his Trident ſlew all the Victors. This *Caligula* lamented as a moſt horrid Slaughter by a pubick Decree; and Curs'd all thoſe that had the Heart to behold it.

* *The* Retiarii *were a ſort of Combatants that fought with Nets in one hand, which they threw over the Heads of their Adverſaries, thereby to entangle them ſo that they could not uſe their hands. They had alſo a Trident in the other hand.*

† *They were call'd* Secutores, *becauſe that in the Conteſt they ran after the* Retiarii, *ſtriving to cut their Nets.*

31. He was alſo wont to complain of the ſad Condition of the Times, in regard there had not happen'd any Publick Calamity to render them Remarkable. That the Reign of *Auguſtus* was Eterniz'd by the *Varian* Overthrow: The Reign of *Tiberius* by the fall of the Amphitheatre at *Fidenæ*, but that Oblivion threatn'd Him, by means of his Unfortunate Proſperity. And therefore he heartily wiſh'd for the utter deſtruction of ſome of his Armies, ſome Famine, Peſtilence, Conflagration or Gaping of the Earth to make him happy.

32. The ſame Savageneſs and Barbarity of Inhuman Acts and Expreſſions attended him alſo in his Recreations, and when he gave himſelf to Sport and Feaſting. For many times, while he was at Dinner or Debauching, ſeveral People were examin'd upon the Rack before his Face, upon ſerious Queſtions. And at the ſame Seaſons there was a Soldier, a dextrous Heads-man, who cut off the Heads of Convicts,

Convicts, ſent for on purpoſe from the Jayl to make ſport. Upon the Dedication of his Bridge at *Puteoli*, which, as we have already ſaid, was his own Invention, after he had invited ſeveral that ſtood upon the Shore to come to him upon the Bridge, of a ſudden he caus'd them to be thrown over into the Sea, and when they endeavour'd to catch hold of the Rudders to ſave themſelves, he commanded the Seamen to thruſt them back with their Oares and Stretchers. At a publick Feſtival in *Rome*, one of the Servants of the Houſe having ſtollen a Plate of Silver from one of the Couches, he preſently ſent for the Executioner, and order'd him to cut off both his Hands, and hang them about the Servants Neck, with a Label upon his Breaſt, declaring the Reaſon of his Puniſhment, and ſo caus'd him to be led about the Room for the Gueſts to behold him. A certain Fencer, of the Number of thoſe which they call *Mirmillones*, playing at Foiles with him in jeaſt, and falling at his Feet in reſpect to his Perſon, he ſtabb'd with an Iron Scithe, and then ran up and down, inſulting with a Palm in his Hand, as if he had ſlain an Enemy. Another time, when a Victim was brought to the Altar to be kill'd, he thruſt himſelf in with only a *Victim-killers* * Linnen Apron before him, and lifting up the Mallet as if he would have knockt the Victim on the Head, he ſlew the Officer that held the Sacrificing Knife. At a ſplended Feaſt, falling on a ſudden into a violent Laughter, and the Conſuls deſiring to know the occaſion of his Mirth, *At what do you think*, ſaid he, *but that it is in my Power, upon one ſingle nod of my Head, to have all your Throats cut?*

* *For the* Victim-Killers *or* Popæ, *were naked all the reſt of their Bodies.*

33. Among

33. Among the reſt of his Jeaſts, as he was ſtanding by the Statue of *Jupiter*, he ask'd *Apelles* the *Tragœdian, Whom he thought to be the greater of the two?* and becauſe he did not give him a ready Anſwer, he order'd him to be ſeverely Scourg'd, ever and anon commending the ſweetneſs of his Voice, while he begg'd for Mercy; ſwearing that his very Groans and Lamentations charm'd his Ears. And as often as he kiſs'd either his Wives or his Miſtreſſes Neck, he added, *So fair and beautiful a Neck can I cut off when I pleaſe.* And he would often vaunt, *That he would put* Ceſonia *to the Rack, but he would know the reaſon why he lov'd her ſo Paſſionately.*

34. Nor was his embitter'd Malice and Envy inferiour to his Pride and Cruelty, nor leſs deſtructive to Perſons of all Ages. For all the Statues of Illuſtrious Men, which *Auguſtus*, by reaſon it was not capacious enough to hold them, had remov'd out of the Court of the *Capitol* into the Field of *Mars*, he threw down and defac'd at ſuch a Malicious rate, that they could never be mended, ſo as to make their Inſcriptions legible. And he forbid from thence forward the erecting of any Statues in Honour of any Perſon living, without his Order, or by his Authority. He had ſome thoughts of quite ſuppreſſing *Homer*'s Works; Expoſtulating, *Why it might not be lawful for him to do what* Plato *had done, who had expell'd him out of his New Commonwealth?* And he was within a very little of throwing out the Writings and Statues of *Virgil* and *Livy* out of all Libraries: Of which, he ſaid, *The one had no Wit and little Learning*; and upbraiding the other with his Verboſity and

ſuperficial

ſuperficial negligence in compiling his Hiſtory. And as for the Lawyers, as if he intended to aboliſh the uſe of all their Learning and Knowledge, he would often vaunt, *That he hop'd to bring it to that paſs, that the Lawyers ſhould have nothing to ſay to their Clients, but only to remit them to him, for the Determination of their Cauſes.*

35. The Ancient Arms and Badges of their Families he took from all the Nobility. From *Torquatus* his Chain; from *Cincinnatus* his dangling Locks; and *Pompey*, notwithſtanding the Antiquity of his Deſcent, he depriv'd of the Sirname of GREAT. *Ptolomy*, of whom I have already made mention, he ſent for out of *Ægypt*, and entertain'd him with great Magnificence; and for his farther Honour preſented him with a Gladiatory Combat; but of a ſudden caus'd him forthwith to be ſlain, for no other reaſon, but becauſe at his entrance into the Theater, he drew the Eyes of all the Multitude upon him with the dazling ſplendor of his Purple Mantle. As often as he met any Perſons that were handſom, and that had lovely Heads of Hair, he order'd the hinder parts of their Heads to be ſhav'd, on purpoſe to disfigure their Beauty. There was *Eſius Proculus*, whoſe Father had been one of the firſt Centurions of a Legion, a Perſon of a goodly Preſence, and ſo remarkable for his Tallneſs, that he was call'd *Coloſſeros*: This Man he caus'd to be hal'd of a ſudden from his Place in the Theater, and to be brought into the Pit, where he put him firſt to fight with a *Thracian*, who was but ſlightly Arm'd, and then with another Fencer, in compleat

pleat Armour after the manner of the *Samnites*; and after he had vanquiſh'd them both, order'd him to be bound hand and foot, to be cloath-ed in ſorry Rags, and in that Poſture to be carry'd from Street to Street to be ſhewn to the Women, and that done, commanded his Throat to be cut. In a word, there was no Perſon of never ſo mean Condition or low Fortune, but he envy'd whatever Nature had beſtow'd upon them Extraordinary. To diſpoſſeſs the *Nemorenſian* King, who had for many years enjoy'd the Dignity of *High-Prieſt* in the Temple of *Diana Aricina*, he rais'd and ſupported a more Potent Adverſary againſt him. One day being preſent at a publick Spectacle, and obſerving that the People gave an extraordinary Applauſe to *Porius*, who was one of thoſe that fought as they rode in their Chariots, for having enfranchiz'd a Servant of his, that had ſtoutly behav'd himſelf in a Combat and won the Victory, he flung in a great fury out of the Theater, and his Gown entangling his Foot, down he tumbl'd from Seat to Seat, ſtorming and crying out, *That the People of* Rome, *who were Lords of Nations, upon a trivial occaſion gave more Honour to a pitiful Chariot-Driver, than to Conſecrated Princes; more eſpecially than to him who was preſent among them.*

36. He neither ſpar'd his own nor the Chaſtity of any other Perſon. It is reported, that there was a mutual Commerce of Male Affection between him and *M. Lepidus Mneſter* the *Panto-Mimmick*, and ſeveral Perſons that were left with him as Hoſtages. *Valerius Catullus*, a young Gentleman of a Conſular Family, was vitiated by him, and ſo tyr'd with his continual

vehemence, that he was forc'd to cry out publickly and confeſs the ſhame of being overridden by him, that rivall'd *Jupiter's* Divinity. And beſides his Inceſtuary familiarity with his Sifters, and his notorious Affection to *Pyrallis*, a Common Proſtitute, there was not any Lady of Illuſtrious Quality to whom he did not make his Adulterous Addreſſes. He would for the moſt part invite them together with their Husbands, and as they paſs'd before him one by one, would take an exact and leiſurely view of every particular Lady, as if they had been upon Sale, lifting up their Chins with his hand, if Modeſty would not permit them to hold up their Heads of themſelves. Having thus ſatisfi'd his Fancy, he took an occaſion to retire into a withdrawing Room with the Lady which he lik'd beſt, and by and by returning with the freſh Marks of hafty Laſciviouſneſs, would not ſcruple to praiſe or diſparage the Pleaſure of his Enjoyments; diſcloſing at the ſame time all the Bodily Perfections or Imperfections which he had diſcover'd, and the Behaviour of the Woman in the very Act. To ſome, in the name of their abſent Husbands he ſent a Bill of Divorce, and commanded it to be enter'd upon Record.

37. In the Profuſeneſs of his Expences, he exceeded all the Prodigals of his Time; as having contriv'd new ways of Bathing, and found out the moſt prodigious ſorts of Dyet and Entertainments that ever were invented. For he bath'd in Oyls of Odoriferous and Precious Compoſitions; drank coſtly Pearls diſſolv'd in Vinegar, and ſet his Bread and Viands overlaid with Leaf Gold before his Gueſts; alledging that a Man was either to be a good Husband

Husband or an Emperor. Beſides this he ſcatter'd conſiderable Sums of Money among the People from the Leads of *Julia's* Palace for ſeveral days together. He alſo built of Cedar Wood ſeveral Veſſels having Ten rows of Oars a peice, with Poops inlaid with Gems, and Sails of various Colours, with Cabins large enough, ſome for Bathing Rooms, ſome for Portico's to walk in, and others for Rooms of State to dine and ſup in; and theſe Cabins every one planted with variety of Vines and Apple Trees, under the ſhade of which as he lay indulging his Appetite, and delighting his Ears in the midſt of Vocal Harmony and Inſtrumental Conſorts, the Gentle Breezes ſlowly moving the Maſſy Bulks, gave him a continu'd and leiſurely Proſpect of the *Campanian* Shore. In his *Prætorian* Edifices, and the Structure of his Houſes of Pleaſure, all conſideration of Expenpences laid aſide, he ſcorn'd whatever was not thought impoſſible to be effected. To that purpoſe, he rais'd prodigious Moles in tempeſtuous and deep Seas, fill'd up whole Fields with Earth and Rubbiſh to Mountain hight, digg'd an open way through hard and Flinty Rocks, and levell'd Mountains with the humble Plains; and this with an incredible Celerity, while delay and ſloath were look'd upon as Capital Crimes; ſo that not to mention particulars, in leſs than a year he conſum'd a prodigious Maſs of Wealth, beſides all that Treaſure which the parcimony of *Tiberius Cæſar* had hoarded up, amounting to no leſs than Six hunder'd ſeventy five hunder'd thouſand Crowns, or according to the Vulgar computation, Sixty ſeven Millions and a half.

38. Thus Exhauſted, and reduc'd to want, he bent his mind to Rapine and Extortion, raiſing Money to ſupply his Neceſſities by various and the moſt exquiſitely invented ways of Accuſations, Penalties, Confiſcations and Tributes. He deny'd the Priviledge of *Roman* Freedom to all People that had purchas'd it for themſelves and their Poſterity, unleſs they were Sons. For that the word *Poſterity* extended no farther than to that ſingle degree. And producing the Patents of *Julius* and *Auguſtus*, he bewail'd them as ſuperannuated and obſolete: And all who after that, had by any way or means augmented their Fortunes, he tax'd with having given in a falſe Eſtimate of their Eſtates. All the laſt Wills of the chief Centurions of the Legions, who from the beginning of *Tiberius*'s Reign, had neither left *Tiberius* nor himſelf their Heir, he Cancell'd as being void in Law. Alſo he ſeiz'd upon the Poſſeſſions of all other Men, if any one would but come in and aver, that he deſign'd upon his Death-Bed to make *Cæſar* his Heir. By which means having ſtruck a Terrour into all ſorts of People, when Strangers had declar'd him Co-heir with their Friends, and Parents with their Children, he call'd them Cheats; for that after ſuch a Nuncupation, they ſtill liv'd on, and therefore to many he ſent poyſon'd Cakes for Lucre of preſent Poſſeſſion. Of ſuch Cauſes as theſe he himſelf took Cognizance, having firſt determin'd the Fine, and when the Penalty was once pronounc'd, then, and not till then, he departed the Court. And ſo impatient he was of delay, that in one Sentence he Condemn'd above Forty Perſons for ſeveral Crimes, boaſting to *Cæſonia*,

How

How much Buſineſs he had diſpatch'd, while ſhe was taking her Afternoons Nap. He expos'd to ſale by way of Auction all the Furniture of his Plays and Spectacles, together with the Actors and Combatants themſelves, for which there was no farther uſe, ſetting the Prices upon every thing himſelf, and that at ſuch exceſſive Rates, that many People who were ruin'd by the purchaſes which they were compell'd to make, cut their own Veins and bled to death. 'Tis well known to all the World, that *Aponius Saturninus* being aſleep upon one of the Benches, *Caius* gave notice to the Cryer, not to forget that *Prætorian* Gentleman, who by the frequent nodding of his Head, agreed to the payment of the Sums which he proclaim'd; nor would he ſuffer the Auction to ceaſe, till *Saturninus*, who was ignorant of the Matter, was forc'd to pay Two hunder'd and five and twenty thouſand Crowns for thirteen *Gladiators*.

39. In *Gallia* alſo, after he had ſold the Ornaments, Houſhold-ſtuff, Servants, and Children of his Condemn'd Siſters, being allur'd by the Gains of that Sale, whatever old Furniture he had once already ſold, he demanded again from the Purchaſers: for the carriage of which, beſides the Waggons which ſtood ready to be hir'd, he preſs'd alſo the Bakers and Millers Horſes. So that there was many times a ſcarcity of Bread in the City; and many People that had Suites depending, depriv'd of Conveniencies to bring them up to the City, loſt their Cauſes, either for want of Appearance, or elſe through the Forfeiture of their Securities. In the raking together of which

Furniture, there was nothing either of Fraud or Diſſimulation omitted: ſometimes upbraiding the People with Covetouſneſs, and wondring, *They were not aſham'd to be Richer than He*; ſometimes diſſembling a kind of Grief, that he ſhould be forc'd to part with the Ornaments of the Imperial Manſions to raiſe Money for his Neceſſities. However finding that a certain Wealthy Provincial had pay'd Five thouſand Crowns to the Officers employ'd for the inviting his Gueſts, to the end he might have an Opportunity in the Place of ſome other, to dine at the Emperours Table; he was nothing offended to ſee the Honour of his Table vallu'd at ſo high a Rate. And therefore the next day, as he was ſitting at the Auction, he ſent him ſome frivolous Toy or other, for his Five thouſand Crowns, and withall bid the Meſſenger tell him, *That he ſhould ſup with* Cæſar *upon his own Invitation.*

40. His Impoſts and Cuſtoms, which were both new and till then unheard of, he collected at firſt by his *Farmers* or *Publicans*; but finding their Gains too great, he afterwards caus'd them to be gather'd by his *Prætorian* Centurions and Tribunes; no Perſon or Commodity eſcaping upon which he did not lay ſome ſort of Exciſe or other. For all ſorts of Proviſions that were ſold in the City, the Rate was certain and ſettl'd. For all ſorts of Actions at Law, in whatſoever Place or Court commenc'd, he took the Fortieth part of the Value of the Sum in diſpute; impoſing a grievous Penalty upon thoſe that either compounded or let fall their Suits. He exacted the Eighth part of the Porters daily Gains, and from all the Common

Common Proſtitutes the Gratuity for one Nights Familiarity. And there was added at the beginning of the Law, that not only the Bawds and common Harlots ſhould be liable to Publick Duties, but that all People that were marry'd ſhould alſo pay a certain Rate.

41. Theſe Impoſitions being only publiſh'd by Proclamation, but not confirm'd by any Law that ſettl'd the Books of Rates, for want of which many branglings and miſtakes aroſe on both ſides, at length at the importunate Supplication of the People, an Act was ſet forth, but in Characters ſo illegible, ſo cloſe written, and hung up in ſuch blind holes, that it was a hard matter to find it out, or to read it when it was found. And that he might not omit any ſort of Extortion, he built up a Brothel-Houſe in his own Palace, with ſeveral Apartiments furniſh'd according to the Dignity of the Place, for Ladies and Gentlemen to enjoy the Fruits of their clandeſtine Amours. And to force a Trade, he ſent about his Officers, that were well acquainted with the Names of the Gentry, to invite both young and old to bring their Miſtreſſes to his Conveniencies; of whom when they came, he receiv'd his Ignominious Toll; which there were Perſons that ſtood ready to receive, and ſet down the Names of every Man in a Book, as Benefactors to *Cæſar*'s Revenue. Nor did he deſpiſe the Profit of Gaming, of which he made the greateſt Benefit by Lying and Perjury. And one time among the reſt, giving his Dice to his next fellow Gameſter to play for him, he went out into the Court-Yard next the Street; at what time having ſpy'd two Wealthy Gentlemen of *Rome* that

were passing by, he commanded them without delay to be both apprehended, and their Estates to be confiscated; and then returning with great Joy to his Company, he cry'd out, *That he never had flung a better Cast in his Life.*

42. Upon the Birth of his Daughter, which happen'd much about the same time, he complain'd sadly of his Poverty, not only as unable to support his Imperial Dignity, but his Family Expences; by which means he was presented with vast Contributions for the Infants Education, and her future Dowry. He also made publick Proclamation that at the beginning of the Year he would be ready to receive his New-years Gifts, to which purpose upon the First of *January* he took up his Station under the Entrance into his Palace, to receive the Presents which the People in throngs, with full Hands and by Laps-full, pour'd down before him one with another, of a thousand sorts. At length he was so inflam'd with a desire of feeling Money, that he would sometimes walk barefoot over infinite Sums on purpose spread abroad in a spacious Room, and sometimes wallow with his whole Body and rowle himself in his glittering heaps.

43. During the whole time of his Life, he never was engag'd in War or Martial Affairs but once; and then rather by chance than that he design'd it; and that was when he made his Progress to * *Mevaria* to visit the Wood and River of † *Clitumnus.* At what time being advis'd to fill up the Number of his *Batavians*, of which his Life-Guards

* *At this day* Bevaria *a large City in* Umbria.

† *Still* Clitunno, *in the same Province; of which* Pliny *writes, that it makes black Oxen that drink its Waters turn white.*

Guards then conſiſted, a violent Fancy took him to make War upon the *Germans*. Thereupon without any more delay, he order'd his Legions and Auxiliaries to a General *Rendezvouze*, made new Levies every where with a moſt indefatigable diligence; and having furniſh'd himſelf with Ammunition and Proviſion, ſo as the like was never ſeen before, he ſet forward upon his March, ſometimes with ſo much haſte and Rapid Fury, that the *Prætorian Cohorts* were forc'd to leave their Standards to be brought after by their Carriage-Horſes, that they might be able to follow him with the greater Expedition; at other times ſo ſlowly and with ſo much State, that he was carry'd in a Litter upon the Shoulders of eight Men, while others were ſent before to command the Towns upon the Road to ſweep and water their High-Ways againſt he came by.

44. So ſoon as he arriv'd at the Camp, that he might ſhew himſelf a ſmart and ſevere General, he diſmiſs'd the Legates that came lateſt with their Troops to the Rendezvouze, diſgrac'd and diſhonour'd: And when he came to Muſter his Army, he caſhier'd the greateſt part of his Centurions that were grown old, and ſome but very few days before their Service was out; pretending their Age render'd them Feeble and unfit for Service; and then accuſing them of Lazy Avarice, retrench'd their Stipends; by which means he ſav'd to himſelf no leſs than a Hundred and eighty thouſand Crowns. However, notwithſtanding all theſe mighty Preparations, the expectation of his great Performances ended all in only receiving into his Protection *Adminius* the Son of *Cynobeline*, King of the

the *Britains*, who being baniſh'd by his Father, fled to him for Succour with a ſmall handful of Men. However, as if he had ſubdu'd the whole Iſland, he ſent to *Rome* triumphant Letters of his Heroick Atchievments full of Vanity and Oſtentation; charging the Meſſengers to ride directly up with their Poſt-horſes to the very *Forum* and the Senate Houſe, and not to deliver their Letters to the Conſuls but in the Temple of *Mars*, and in a full Senate.

45. After that, all farther occaſion of War ceaſing, he order'd ſome *Germans*, of the Guards of his Body, to croſs the *Rhine*, and hide themſelves a while in ſome place convenient; and the next day all of a ſudden, after he had din'd, to give him an *Alarum*, by Meſſengers who were to look as if they were ſurpris'd, and almoſt half out of their Wits, that the Enemy was at hand. Which being done, he flew immediately with ſome of his familiar Favourites, and a Squadron of the *Prætorian* Horſe to the next Wood; where after he had lopt off the Branches of ſeveral Trees, and deckt his Attendants with the Boughs, he return'd to the Camp by Torch-light, reproaching thoſe that did not follow him with ſloath and Cowardice. But for his Companions that had ſuſtain'd the Brunt of the day, and were ſharers with him in the Victory, them he honour'd with Crowns of a new ſort and Name, which being diſtinguiſh'd by their ſeveral Reſemblances to the Sun, Moon and Stars, he call'd *Exploratory*. Moreover to add to his Fame, he appointed certain young Lads to be violently taken from School as Hoſtages. Within ſome few Hours afterwards, theſe Youths were ſent away

away privately ſome Miles before under a ſlender Guard; but then news being brought him as if the Hoſtages had made their eſcapes, up he ſtarts of a ſudden from the Table, and with a Party of Horſe purſues the Fugitives; and having brought them back to the Camp, laid them in Irons as great Tranſgreſſors; no leſs vainly and oſtentatiouſly playing his part in this Interlude, than in the former; as he, who upon his returning to his Supper, when word was brought him that his Party was rally'd again and ſafe, order'd the Meſſengers, in their compleat Armour as they were, to take their Places at the Table; and with all admoniſh'd them by repeating that known Verſe in *Virgil*,

Durarent, ſecundiſque ſe Rebus ſervarent.

To Perſevere, and for Succeſs
Reſerve their Noble Courages.

In the midſt of theſe Tranſactions he moſt bitterly reproach'd the abſent Senate and People of *Rome*, *For that while* Cæſar *was engag'd in Battel and expoſing his Perſon to ſo many dangers, they did nothing but Feaſt and Revel, and follow their Paſtimes in the* Cirque, *and Theaters, and at their Country Houſes, wallowing in Riot and Variety of Pleaſures.*

46. Laſtly, as if he had been going about to to hazard the Fortune of a War upon the Chance of a ſingle Engagement, having embattell'd his Army upon the Sea Shore, and diſpos'd his Engins to the beſt advantage, when no body could imagin his deſign, he commanded his Men to go and fill their Helmets and their Laps

Laps full of the Shells that lay upon the Sand, which he call'd, *The Spoils of the Ocean, due to the Palace and the Capitol.* In the ſame place alſo he erected an exceeding high Tower as a Monument of his Victory, to ſerve as a Land-Mark by day, and from whence, as from a Beacon, burning Lights might give direction to Veſſels ſteering their Courſe along that Coaſt, in the Night time. Afterwards having declar'd his reſolution to give a Largeſs to the Soldiery of a Hunder'd *Deneers* a Man, as if he had ſurpaſs'd all the Examples of Bounty and Munificence that ever were, *Go*, ſaid he, *and bleſs your ſelves, go and be Rich.*

47. Then bending all his thoughts in order to his Triumph, beſides the *Barbarian* Captives and Fugitives, he cull'd out the talleſt he could meet with among the *Gauls*, and to uſe his own Expreſſion, ἀξιοθεαμάτους, *Such as were worthy to attend a Triumpher*; and ſome there were of the Principal Nobility which he ſet apart in order to his Pomp: to which purpoſe he compell'd them to dye their Hair red; to let their Locks grow; to learn the *German* Language, and aſſume *Barbarian* Names. He alſo commanded the Gallies in which he had ventur'd out to Sea, to be carry'd to *Rome*, the greateſt part of the way by Land. He alſo wrote to his Stewards at *Rome*, *That they ſhould make ready for him a Triumph, at as little charges as might be; but ſuch a one that the like was never ſeen before, in regard the Eſtates of all his Subjects were at their Diſpoſal.*

48. But before he departed the Provinces, he deſign'd one of the moſt horrid and bloody Projects that ever could enter into the Head of Man;

Man; which was to have murder'd thoſe Legions, that had formerly mutini'd preſently after the death of *Auguſtus*, and had beſieg'd his Father *Germanicus* and himſelf, but then an Infant. And though he were with great difficulty reclaim'd from ſuch a violent and raſh deſign, yet could he by no Importunity be prevail'd upon, but that he would put to death every Tenth Man. To which purpoſe, having ſummon'd the Soldiers together without their Arms, nor ſo much as with their Swords by their ſides, as if he had had ſome Speech to make to them, he caus'd them to be ſurrounded with his Armed Horſe. But obſerving that the greateſt part, ſuſpecting ſomething more than ordinary, ſlunk away to reſume their Weapons, in caſe of any violence offer'd, he fled out of the Aſſembly and haſten'd with all the ſpeed imaginable to *Rome*, turning all his Fury upon the Senate, upon whom he openly threaten'd to revenge the Ignominious Reports that were ſpread about concerning him. Complaining among other things, that he was defrauded of his juſt Triumph, whereas he had publickly declar'd but a little before, that no body ſhould preſume to meddle with his Honours.

49. Therefore being attended upon the Rode by the Commiſſioners of the moſt ample Order, beſeeching him to haſten his Return, with a loud and ſurly Tone, *I will come*, ſaid he, *I will come, and bring this along with me*, laying his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword. Moreover, he declar'd by publick Proclamation, *That he would return, but only to thoſe that wiſh'd well to the* Equeſtrian *Order, and the People of* Rome; *for that as to the Senate he would no longer*

prove

prove either a Citizen or a Prince. He alſo forbid that any of the Senators ſhould come forth to meet him; and therefore either laying aſide his Triumph, or deferring it till another time, he made his entry into the City only after the manner of *Ovation*; and four Months after came to his End, having perpetrated moſt Inhuman and Prodigious Villanies, and deſigning ſomewhat greater. For it was in his thoughts, after he had cut off the choiceſt and braveſt Perſons of both Orders, to have remov'd his Court firſt to *Antium*, and thence to *Alexandria*. And that no body may queſtion the Truth of this report, there were two little Note-Books found in his Cloſet, the one Entitled *Gladius*, the other *Pugio*; both containing the Names of thoſe Perſons whom he had deſign'd for Slaughter. There was alſo found in the ſame place a large Cheſt, full of all ſorts of Poyſons. Which being afterward order'd by *Claudius* to be thrown into the Sea, ſo violently infected the Water, that the Fiſh dy'd, and were caſt upon the Shore by the Tydes.

50. As to his Stature, he was very tall, pale-fac'd, but irregularly proportion'd; his Neck and Thighs being extreamly ſlender; his Eyes and Temples hollow; his Forhead large, with a grim Aſpect; his Hair thin, and the top of his Head quite bald; but in all other Parts of his Body long and ſhagged. Wherefore as he paſſed by, it was a heinous Crime to look down upon him from any place that was above him, or to name a Goat upon any occaſion. His Countenance, which was naturally ſevere and threatning, he made it his buſineſs to render yet more terrible by Art, ſetting and framing his

his Looks by his Glaſs to all the Poſtures of Dread and Affrightment. He never had any conſtant Health either in Body or Mind. While he was a Boy, he was troubl'd with the Falling-Sickneſs; in his *Adoleſcency*, patient of Labour: yet then, he was many times ſo infeſted with fainting Fits, that he could hardly go or ſtand, or ſit upright. He was ſenſible himſelf of the Infirmity of his Mind, inſomuch that he had frequent thoughts of retiring to take Phyſick for his head. It was believ'd that he had been drench'd by his Wife *Ceſonia* with a Philter or Love Potion, which depriv'd him of his Senſes and made him almoſt mad. He was extreamly tormented for want of ſleep; for he never ſlept above three Hours in a Night; nor was that ſhort reſt without the Diſturbance of troubleſom Dreams, and Viſions; and among the reſt he fancy'd that he ſaw ſomething in the ſhape of the Sea that held him in a long Diſcourſe. Wherefore he ſpent the greateſt part of the Night in watchful diſorder of Mind; ſometimes ſitting upright in his Bed; by and by getting up, and running from Gallery to Gallery, continually wiſhing for daylight.

51. And to this diſtractedneſs of Mind may juſtly be attributed the moſt of his Vices, more eſpecially his extream Confidence, and his extraordinary Fear. For he that ſo deſpicably contemn'd the Gods, upon the leaſt flaſh of Lightning or clap of Thunder, would ſhut his Eyes, and muffle up his Head in his Cloak. But if it Thunder'd and Lighten'd in good earneſt, then he leap'd out in his Shirt and hid himſelf under the Bed. When he came into *Sicily*, notwithſtanding he had ſo derided, as he

he had done, the Miracles of ſeveral Places, he was ſo diſmally terrifi'd with the ſmoaking and roaring of the Mountain *Etna*, that he would not ſtay for day-light, but run away from *Meſſina* in the Night, as if all the Devils in Hell had been at his Heels. And though he frequently threaten'd the *Barbarians* what ſtrange Feats he would do, yet being to march in his *Calaſh* on the other ſide the *Rhine*, through a narrow Paſſage with a thick Body of Men, that were forc'd to diſorder their Ranks to get through; upon the meer ſaying of one of the Soldiers, *What a Confuſion would there be if an Enemy ſhould appear*, he preſently got a Horſe-back, and gallopp'd full ſpeed back to the Bridges; but finding them ſtopp'd up by the Waggons and Baggage, impatient of delay, he caus'd himſelf to be handed from one Man to another over their Heads, till he thought himſelf out of harms way. Soon after, news being brought him that the *Germans* were rebell'd, he thought of nothing leſs than flight, and for the more ſpeedy convenience of a ſafe eſcape, order'd a Fleet to be got ready; having this one Comfort ſtill remaining, that though the Victorious Enemy ſhould make themſelves Maſters of the *Alps*, as the *Cimbri* formerly did, or of the City it ſelf, which anciently the *Senones* had done, yet he ſhould reſerve his Tranſmarine Provinces entire. And upon this Puſillammity and Cowardice of his it was, that his Aſſaſſinates, after they had ſlain him, gave it out among the Soldiers, who began to Mutiny, that he had kill'd himſelf, in a Panick Fear and Conſternation, upon the News of a loſt Battel.

52. As

52. As to his Cloaths, his Shooes, and his Robes of Ornament, he neither obſerv'd the Faſhion of his Country, nor Mode of a Citizen: hardly reconcil'd to Mens Apparel, but altogether Fantaſtick, nothing would ſerve him but the Poetical Habits of the Gods. Sometimes he publickly ſhew'd himſelf in a long hanging Cloak all over Embroider'd, and ſet with pretious Stones, with * long Sleeves down to his Wriſts, which were bedeck with ſumptuous Bracelets; ſometimes all in Silks, and his Waſt ſurrounded with a kind of Fardingale; ſometimes in Slippers; ſometimes in Buskins; ſometimes in cloſe Trouſes like thoſe of the common Soldiers; and many times in Womens Pumps. At other times, and indeed for the moſt part, you ſhould ſee him with his Golden Beard, holding in his Hand ſometimes *Jupiters Feretrum* or Thunder Shafts; ſometimes *Neptunes Trident*; and the next day *Mercuries Caduceus* or Winged Wand; and at another time a Crotchet came into his Head to trip it along in the Habit of *Venus*. Many times alſo he would put on his triumphal Robes, before he ſet forward upon his Expedition. And then it was that he alſo took great Pride to buckle on the Corſlet of *Alexander* the Great, which he order'd to be taken out of his Sepulcher.

* *An Effeminate ſort of Faſhion deſpis'd by the Romans.*

53. He had little or no kindneſs for the Liberal Sciences, but was greatly addicted to the Study of Eloquence, though he were endow'd with a Natural fluency of utterance: and if he were to declaim againſt any one, or when he was angry, he had his Words and Expreſſions at Command. His Pronuntiation alſo was diſtinct, and the Tone of his Voice clear, ſo that he might be heard at a great diſtance:

And such was his Ardency, and the heat of his Passion in arguing, either on the one side or the other, that he could never stand still in the same place. A more smooth and Polite way of writing he so far derided, that of *Seneca*, who was highly applauded at that time, he gave his Judgment, *That his Writings were nothing but other Mens Notions clapt together, and meer Sand without Lime.* He would also make it his study to answer such Orators who had succeeded with highest Applause in their Pleadings; and undertake the Accusations or Defences of great Criminals in the Senate as his Humour led him; and as he happen'd to be either soft or impetuous he would either lessen or aggravate the Offence; at what time he would by publick Proclamation invite the Gentlemen of *Rome* to come and hear him.

54. Other Arts, and those of several sorts he most studiously affected and practis'd. He was a great Fencer and Chariot-Driver, and an exquisite Singer and Dancer. He play'd at Foyls with great Skill: he manag'd his Chariots in all the difficult turnings and windings of the *Circus*; and he was so transported with Singing and Dancing, that even at the publick Shows and Theaters he could not refrain from singing along with the *Tragedian*, and imitating his Gestures either by way of Applause or Dislike. Nor is there any other Reason to be given, why the day before he was kill'd, he proclaim'd a * *Pervigilium*, but that by the benefit of the Licentiousness practis'd in the time of those Vigils, he might take his opportunity to be first upon the Stage.

* *It being the Custom for the People at that time upon the Eves before great Solemnities to sit up all Night, and this was call'd Celebrating a* Pervigilium; *not unlike the Masses at this time, Celebrated at Midnight before the Mornings of solemn Festivals.*

Stage. Sometimes alſo he would appoint his Balls in the Night time. And one time among the reſt he ſent for two Perſons of Conſular Dignity out of their Beds at Three a Clock in the Morning; and when they came full of fatal Fears and Apprehenſions, plac'd them in a Gallery; and by and by with a great noiſe of Fifes and Caſtanets, he came dancing forth in a looſe Garment down to his Heels; and having danc'd out his Tune, as ſuddenly made his Exit. But as ready witted and active as he was in other things, he never could be taught to ſwim. But where he took a ſtrong Affection, thoſe he lov'd and doated upon even to Madneſs: Therefore he would frequently kiſs *Mneſter*, the *Pantomimick*, upon the Publick Stage: and if any one while he was dancing, offer'd to make the leaſt noiſe, he caus'd him to be pull'd down from his Seat, and ſcourg'd him with his own Hands. A Gentleman of *Rome* making ſome diſturbance at ſuch a time, he order'd by a *Centurion* to retire to *Oſtia* without delay, and to carry certain Letters to King *Ptolomy* into *Mauritania*; the Contents of which were, *To the Perſon whom I have ſent, do neither any good nor any harm.*

55. He gave the Command of the *German* Guards of his Body to certain Gladiators who were call'd *Threces*; but compell'd the *Mirmillons* to lay aſide the greateſt part of their Arms; *Columbus* a *Mirmillion* having receiv'd a ſlight hurt in a Combat, he order'd a certain ſort of Poyſon to be dropt into his Wound, which from thence he call'd *Columbinum*; for ſo among other Poyſons, the Glaſs wherein this was contain'd, was found written upon. He was ſo

addicted to the Party of the Charioteers, call'd *Green Coats*, that he would often ſup and lye all Night in their Stables. And to *Cythicus*, a Chariot-driver, at a Revelling bout, he preſented as a Token of his Favour, no leſs than Fifty thouſand Crowns, for his laſt Courſe. As for his Horſe, which he call'd *Incitatus*, for whoſe ſake the day before the *Circenſian* Games, he would always order the Soldiers to give notice to the Neighbourhood not to make a noiſe, for fear of diſturbing his Reſt, he built him up a Marble Stable, with a Manger of Ivory, and richly furniſh'd it with Purple Houſing Cloaths, and a Collar of Precious Stones to come round the Horſes Neck: More than that, he allow'd him a Houſe and Attendants, with coſtly furniture, for the more ſplendid Entertainment of ſuch as ſhould be invited in the Horſes Name: and ſome report, that he intended to have made his Horſe a Conſul.

56. But in the midſt of all this Imperious Riot and raging Extravagancy, not a few, but many Perſons were contriving to rid him out of the World. But after the diſcovery of two Conſpiracies, while others delay'd for want of Opportunity, there were two Perſons that imparted their deſign one to another, and brought it to perfection, not without the Privity of his moſt powerful enfranchiz'd Bondmen, and Officers of the *Prætorian* Guards. Becauſe they found themſelves nam'd as accomplices in a former Conſpiracy; which though it were falſe, yet they perceiv'd themſelves not only ſuſpected but hated by him. For after he had ſingl'd them out one day, he drew his Sword and made a deep Proteſtation, *That he was willing*

ling to dye, if they thought him worthy of death, whereby though he did not abſolutely accuſe them, yet it was a fair intimation that they lay under a Mortal jealouſie: nor did he ceaſe from thence forward to accuſe them one to another behind their backs, by that means to ſet them together by the Ears, and force them to mutual Impeachments. When they had agreed upon the Time and Place, which was to attack him as he came forth at Noon from the *Palatine* Plays to go to Dinner, *Caſſius Chærea*, a Tribune of the *Prætorian* Cohort, deſir'd the Honour of being the firſt Aggreſſor: For in regard he was ſomewhat ſtricken in years, *Caius* was wont to make him the Mark of his Taunts and Scoſs; and particularly to deride him for an Old and Effeminate Coward; ſo that when he came to receive the *Word* from him a nights, he would give him *Priapus* or *Venus*; and when he came to kiſs his Hand, he would reach it him forth indeed, but always in an obſcene and unbeſeeming Poſture.

57. There were many Prodigies that Portended his Murther. At *Olympia*, the Statue of *Jupiter*, when they were pulling it down, in order to its being tranſported to *Rome* by his Command, of a ſudden burſt forth into ſuch a laughter, that the Scaffold being looſen'd and ready to fall, the Workmen ran away in great Confuſion; at what time there immediately appear'd a certain Perſon, *Caſſius* by Name, affirming, *That he was warn'd in a Dream to offer up a Bull to* Jupiter. The *Capitol* at *Capua*, about the beginning of *March* was fir'd by Lightning from Heaven; and at *Rome* the Porters Lodge belonging to his Palace. And ſome

there were who from the latter Prodigy pretended to affirm ſome danger was portended to the Maſter of the Houſe; by the former, ſome remarkable Murder, as had been formerly committed the ſame day upon the Body of *Julius Cæſar*. Coming alſo to Conſult the Aſtrologer *Sylla*, about his Nativity, he aſſur'd him, *That his end was certainly at hand.* In the ſame manner, the Prieſteſſes of Fortune at *Antium* bid him beware of one whoſe Name was *Caſſius*; for which reaſon, he had ſent to have *Caſſius Longinus*, who was Proconſul of *Aſia*, put to death, forgetting that *Chærea*'s Name was alſo *Caſſius*. Moreover, the day before he was kill'd, he dreamt that he was in Heaven ſtanding by the Throne of *Jupiter*, who gave him a ſpurn with the Toe of his right Foot, and kick't him headlong to the Earth. Several other Accidents that happen'd alſo the very day that he was murder'd, were look'd upon to be no other than Predictions of his enſuing Fate. For as he was Sacrificing, the Blood of a *Phœnicopter*, ſpurted all upon his Cloaths. And *Mneſter* the *Pantomimick* danc'd that day the ſame Tragedy, which *Neoptolemus* the *Tragœdian* Acted, at the Plays when *Philip* King of *Macedon* was ſtabb'd. Likewiſe in the Comedy call'd *Laureolus*, where the Actor endeavouring haſtily to eſcape ſome imminent danger vomits Blood, becauſe no notice could be taken of what the Play required, therefore to confirm the Prodigy, the whole Stage was cover'd with Blood. The ſame day alſo there were great Preparations for a Maſque, wherein the Fables of Hell were to be unfolded by *Ægyptians* and *Ethiopians*.

58. Upon

58. Upon the Ninth day after the *Kalends* of *February*, about the Seventh Hour, being at a ſtand whether he ſhould riſe to go to Dinner or no, his Supper which he had eaten the Night before not being well digeſted, at length over-rul'd by his Favourites, he roſe and went forth. In the way he was to paſs by an Apartiment where certain Youths of Noble Quality, that had been ſent for out of *Aſia*, to ſing the Praiſes of *Caius*, and dance the *Pyrrhick* Dances upon the Theater, were making themſelves ready to begin, which caus'd him to make a ſtop, to view and encourage the young Gentlemen: and had it not been, but that the Chief of the Company complain'd he was a cold, he had gone preſently back, and ſeen them act without any farther delay. But here the Story is two ways told; for ſome report that as he was talking to the Boys, *Chærea* came behind him, and gave him a Mortal Gaſh in the Neck with his Hanger, uttering theſe Words as he ſtruck, * *Hoc age: Mind this*; and that then, *Cornelius Sabinus*, another of the Conſpirators, and a Tribune beſides, being got before him, ran him quite through the Body. Others relate, that *Sabinus*, after certain *Centurions*, who were of the Conſpiracy, had remov'd the Croud from about his Perſon, came to him, and deſir'd the *Word*, according to the Military Cuſtom; whereupon *Caius* giving him *Jupiter*, *Chærea* cry'd out, *Accipe ratum, take it confirm'd*; and as *Caligula* look'd back, at one blow ſtrook off his Jaw, and fell'd him to the Ground. Where, as he lay groveling and gathering up his Limbs, while he faintly

* *Which were the words which the Cryer always us'd, when the* Roman *Magiſtrate was juſt beginning to ſolemnize the Divine Worſhip, or juſt ready to offer Sacrifice.*

cry'd, *he was yet alive*, the reſt of the Conſpirators fell in, and finiſh'd their work with above Thirty Wounds. For the *Word* among them all was *Repete*, *At him again*; and ſome there were who run their Swords through his ſecret parts. Upon the firſt noiſe of the Tumult, his Litter-Men came in to his Reſcue with their Shouldering-Staves, and preſently after his *German* Guards, who ſlew ſome of the Conſpirators, and ſome Senators who were altogether Innocent.

59. He liv'd Nine and twenty Years, and Reign'd three Years ten Months and eight Days. His Body was carry'd into the *Lamian* Gardens, where being half burnt upon a Funeral Pile that was heap'd together in haſte, it was cover'd over ſlightly with a thin Turf, for the preſent. But upon the return of his Siſters from baniſhment, they took up the Body again, burnt it a ſecond time, and decently beſtowed his Aſhes. Certain it is, that till that was done, the Gardiners could never ſleep in quiet for Apparitions and Viſions that haunted the place in the Night. And in the ſame Houſe where he was kill'd, there was not a Night that paſs'd without the terrible diſturbance of Nocturnal Phantomes. His Wife *Ceſonia* was kill'd at the ſame time, being ſtabb'd by a Centurion, and his Infant Daughter had her Brains miſerably daſh'd out againſt the Wall.

60. By this may any Man gueſs, at the Condition of thoſe times. For when the News of the Murder was ſpread abroad, it was not preſently believ'd: Inſomuch that ſome Perſons ſuſpected it to be a Contrivance of *Caius* himſelf to raiſe a forg'd Rumour of his being murder'd; that

that by that means he might diſcover the Affections of the People toward him. Nor did the Conſpirators deſign any Perſon to ſucceed him. On the other ſide the Senate were ſo unanimouſly reſolv'd to recover their Ancient Liberties, that the Conſuls would not ſummon the Senate to the uſual Place of Aſſembly, becauſe it was call'd *Julia*, but to the *Capitol*. And ſome there were who deliver'd their Opinions, that the Memory of the *Cæſars* was to be aboliſh'd, and that their Temples were to be laid in Aſhes. And here by the way it is particularly to be obſerv'd, that all the *Cæſars* whoſe *Prænomens* or firſt Names were *Caius*, came to an untimely end by the Hands of Aſſaſſinates, beginning from him who was murder'd in *Cicero*'s Time.

THE

TI·CLAUDIUS·DRUSUS·CÆSAR

W. D. F.

THE LIFE OF T. CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CÆSAR.

Done into *Engliſh* by *J. P.* Gent.

LIVIA, when ſhe was marry'd big with Child to *Auguſtus*, within three Months after, was deliver'd of *Druſus*, the Father of *Claudius Cæſar*; being firſt of all call'd *Decimus*, and then *Nero*: and it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that he was begot in Adultery by his Father in Law. Upon which the following Verſe was ſcatter'd about by way of Lampoon,

Τοῖς ἐυτυχοῦσι καὶ τείμηνα παιδία.

But they, whom Wealth and Fortune does befriend
Can Children have at every three Months end.

This *Druſus*, while he enjoy'd the Honour of the Queſtor and Prætorſhip, being General in the *Rhætian* and *German* Wars, was the firſt Captain of the *Romans* that ever ſayl'd the Northern Ocean. He it was that made thoſe Trenches

Trenches on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, the Monuments of a new and Prodigious Undertaking, call'd the *Druſian* Trenches to this day. And who after he had overthrown a ſtout and hardy Enemy in ſeveral Battels, and driven them almoſt into their remote and deſert Solitudes, ſtill perſiſted in his purſuit, and would by no perſwaſions give them over, till a certain Apparition of a *Barbarian* Woman, exceeding the common ſize of humane Stature, forbid him in the Latin Tongue, Victorious as he was, to proceed any farther. For which Atchievements he was allow'd the Honour of *Ovation*, and to wear the Triumphal Robes. Afterwards his *Prætorſhip* being expir'd, and the Conſulſhip being immediately conferr'd upon him, he undertook a ſecond Expedition, but falling ſick of a rude Diſtemper, dy'd in his Summer Camp; which from thence were by the Soldiers call'd *Scelerata*, or Unfortunate, as long as the *Romans* were Maſters of thoſe Parts. His Body was carry'd from Stage to Stage, upon the Shoulders of the Chief Magiſtrates of the *Municipal* Towns and Colonies, till it was met by the * *Decuries* or Societies of the Publick Accomptants, and by them carry'd to *Rome*, where it was buried in the Field of *Mars*. And more than that, the Army by a general Contribution erected a Honorary Monument in Commemoration of their Leader, with a ſolemn Inſtitution, that the Soldiers ſhould make a Military Proceſſion round about it every year upon a prefix'd day; and that the Cities of *Gallia* ſhould

* *Theſe were Perſons whoſe Buſineſs it was to caſt up and fairly poſt the Accounts, not only of the Quæſtors, but of all other Magiſtrates who were accountable for the publick Caſh. And for that reaſon they were very numerous in* Rome, *and in ſuch repute, that they were next in Rank to the* Equeſtrian *Order.*

ſhould make publick Supplications upon the ſame occaſion. Moreover the Senate Decreed him a Triumphal Arch of Marble to be erected upon the *Appian* Rode, adorn'd with Trophies, and the Sirname of *Germanicus*, both to him and his Poſterity. Beſides he was look'd upon as a Perſon no leſs mindful of the Publick good, then eager in Purſuit of Fame; for beſides his daring Courage in expoſing his Perſon to Combats hand to hand, with the *German* Generals, whom he would be ſure to ſingle out in the heat of Battel; he Enrich'd the Commonweal with Royal and Magnificent Spoils; nor did he diſſemble his Intentions, if ever it ſhould lye in his power, to reſtore the Republick to its former Freedom. Which was the Reaſon, if I may Conjecture, that ſome have preſum'd to report, that *Auguſtus* grew jealous of him, and recall'd him out of the Province; and becauſe he did not make over much haſte, prevented his return by Poyſon. Which I have inſerted, rather leaſt I ſhould be thought to have omitted any thing, than that I believe it either to be Truth or Probability; in regard that while he liv'd, *Auguſtus* lov'd him with that entire affection, that he always made him Co-heir with the reſt of his Sons, and when he was dead, extoll'd him to that degree in his Funeral Oration, that he beſought the Gods, *That his adopted* Cæſars *might be like to him*; *and that they would vouchſafe to himſelf the Happineſs of leaving the World with ſo much Honour as he had done*; and not contented with Engraving an Elogy upon his Monument in Verſe, which he had made himſelf, he wrote in Proſe a ſhort Hiſtory of his Life. By *Antonia* the younger

younger he had ſeveral Children, but only three that ſurviv'd him, *Germanicus*, *Livilla*, and *Claudius*.

2. *Claudius* was born at *Lyons* in the Conſulſhip of *Julius Antonius*, and *Fabius Africanus*, the Firſt of *Auguſt*, the ſame day that the Altar was Dedicated in that City to *Auguſtus*. He was nam'd at firſt *Tiberius Claudius Druſus*. Soon after, his younger Brother being adopted into the *Julian* Family, he aſſum'd the Sirname of *Britannicus*. His Father dying left him an Infant; and beſides that, all the time of his Childhood and Adoleſcency being forc'd to ſtuggle with ſeveral obſtinate Diſeaſes, which not only enfeebled his Body but his Mind, he never was thought capable of any publick or private Employment when he came to the age of Maturity: For that even then they were forc'd to keep him for a long time under the Government of a Tutor; of which he himſelf complains, *That they had ſet over him a* Barbarian, *and one that had formerly been a Carriers Man to look after his Pack-Horſes, on purpoſe to vex and correct him upon every ſlight occaſion.* By reaſon of this Infirmity of Body, he was allow'd to preſide at the Gladiatory Combats, which together with his Brother he exhibited in Memory of his Father, wrapt up in a long Cloak, contrary to the uſual Cuſtom; and when he put on his *Gown of Manhood*, he was carry'd in a Litter into the *Capitol* about Midnight, without any thing of ſolemn Ceremony.

3. However from his Childhood he was not a little Induſtrious in the Study of the Liberal Arts, and frequently gave manifeſt Teſtimonies

nies of his proficiency in every one. Nevertheleſs, neither by that means could he attain to any Preferment, or perceive the leaſt appearance for any ground of future Expectations. His Mother *Antonia* would often call him *A Monſter of a Man, not fully perfected by Nature*; and when ſhe upbraided any one for his Blockiſhneſs or Stupidity, ſhe would compare him to her Son, and ſay, *He was a greater Sot than her Son* Claudius. His Grand-mother *Auguſta* always lookt upon him with an Eye of Contempt, ſo that ſhe never ſpoke to him, but when ſhe could not avoid it; and never gave him her advice but in ſharp and written Reprimands, or elſe by Meſſengers which ſhe ſent on purpoſe. His Siſter *Livilla* when ſhe heard that he would one day come to be Emperor, openly and aloud lamented the miſerable and unfortunate Condition of the *Roman* People.

4. And that it may more certainly appear what Opinion his Great Uncle *Auguſtus* had of him, I thought fit to inſert theſe few Particulars out of his own Epiſtles. "I Diſcours'd "with *Tiberius*, my deareſt *Livia*, according to "thy Requeſt, what was to be done with thy "Grand-child *Tiberius* at the Dedication of the "Temple of *Mars*; and we have both con-"cluded upon an Expedient how to acquit our "ſelves in that Affair: For if he be ἄρτιος found "and perfect, as I may ſay ὁλόκληρος, without "any defect or infirmity, we ought to advance "him by the ſame ſteps and degrees as his "Brother was advanc'd; but if we perceive "him ἐλαττώδης, to be weak and infirm, and find "him βεβλαφθαι, ἢ εἰς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἢ εἰς τὴν

" ψυχῆς δεπόπτα, to be deprav'd and maim'd both " in his Body and his Intellects, we are not to " give an occasion to the People to deride both " him and us; it being customary with them " τὰ τοιαῦτα σκώπτειν καὶ μυκτηρίζειν, to scoff and " shrivel up their Noses at such kind of Over-" sights. For our trouble and vexation will ne-" ver be at an end, if we must be always de-" bating upon every Occasion, which the " Times require, whether we judge it " μὴ συμφέροντα ἡμῖν, convenient for us to Pre-" fer him to Honours or no. But as to what " thou desirest our Advice upon at present, we " are not against his overseeing the Provisions " which are to be made for the * *Salian* Priests, " if he will suffer himself to be rul'd by the Son " of *Silanus*, his near Kinsman, and one that will " be careful that he shall do nothing Impertí-" nent or ridiculous. But we do not think it " convenient for him to behold the *Circen-*" *sian* Games, leaning out of the " † *Pulvinar*: For then he will sit too " much expos'd in the Face of all the " Spectators. Nor do we think it " fitting he should go up to the *Al-*" *ban Mount*, or be in Town during " the *Latin* Holy-days: For if he be " capable to follow his Brother to " the ‖ *Alban Mount*, Why is he not " made Governour of the City? " These are our Reasons, my dear " *Livia*, why we should come to a " certain Resolution in this Particular, that we " may not be always wavering between Hope " and Fear. Thou mayst, if thou pleasest, let " our *Antonia* read this part of the Epistle.

* *Whose Suppers were wont to be very splendid and chargeable.*

† *Which was that part of the* Circus, *where the Statues of the Gods were plac'd upon large Velvet Cushions, and afterwards carry'd in Procession round the several Goals.*

‖ *Where the Consuls were wont to offer up a solemn Sacrifice to* Jupiter Latialis.

Again

Again in other Epiſtles, "For my part, as "long as thou art abſent, I ſhall daily invite "the young *Tiberius* to my Table, that he may "not ſup alone with his *Sulpitius* and *Athenodo-* "*rus*; and I could wiſh the poor Creature "would with more earneſtneſs, and with leſs "loftineſs, *minus μετεώρως* chooſe to himſelf ſome "ſelect and well-bred Companion and make "him the Pattern of his Imitation, to regulate "his Deportment, Meen, and Behaviour.

Ἀτυχεῖ πάνυ ἐν τοῖσι σωφάλοισι λίαν.

Or rather

Ἀτυχεῖ λίαν γ' ἐν τοῖσι σωφάλοισι πάνυ.

For great is his Misfortune, who diſplays
But ſmall defects, where th' Eyes of all Men gaze.

"Though indeed when he keeps his Thoughts "from roving, ἡ δ' ψυχῆς αὐτῆ εὐγένεια, the No- "ble Generoſity of his Soul ſufficiently ſhews "him to be of the true breed.

Alſo in a third Epiſtle, "Let me dye, my "dear *Livia*, if I do not admire how thy "Grand-child *Tiberius*, could pleaſe me as he "did, when he declaim'd before me. Nor can "I comprehend, how a Lad that talks ἀσυρῶς "ſo idly and impertinently at other times, "when he came to declaim, ſhould ſpeak with "ſo much Judgment and Learning.

Neither is it to be queſtion'd, but that theſe were the Reaſons, that mov'd *Auguſtus* after all to leave him inveſted with no other Honour but that of the Augural Prieſthood, and to mention him in his Will only among his Heirs in the Third

Degree, hardly owning him for his Grandchild; while he bequeath'd him hardly a ſixth Part of his Perſonal Eſtate, and but a ſmall Legacy in ready Money, amounting to no more then Twenty thouſand Crowns.

5. *Tiberius* his Uncle by the Fathers ſide, when he Petition'd for ſome Honourable Preferment, ſtill wav'd the Subſtance of his Petition, only he allow'd him to wear Conſular Ornaments. And when he was more importunate for Real Advancement, writ him back word, *That he had ſent him Forty Crowns in Gold againſt the* Saturnalia *for Gaming Money, and to buy* * *New-years Gifts for his Friends.* Then laying aſide all hopes of Preferment, he retir'd to a private Life, abſconding himſelf ſometimes in his Garden Houſe in the Suburbs, ſometimes in *Campania*, where he had a Country Dwelling: and by keeping Company with none but a ſort of looſe and debauch'd Fellows, incurr'd not only the old Scandal of being a Drone, but the Additional Infamy of being a Drunkard and a Gameſter.

* *For the word* Sigilla *comprehends all manner of Toys, like thoſe now a days ſold in* Popes-Head Alley, *and at that time of the day, ſold in a certain Street in* Rome, *call'd from the general Name of the Toys there ſold* Via Sigillaria, *or the* Sigillarian *Street.*

6. However, notwithſtanding his idle Courſe of Life, he never wanted the Reſpect and Affection of the People, nor Publick Reverence. The *Equeſtrian Order* choſe him twice their Patron to manage a private Negotiation in their behalf; once when they deſir'd of the Conſul that they might have the Honour to carry the Body of *Auguſtus* to *Rome* upon their Shoulders; and another time when they ſent to Congratulate the Conſuls upon the Death of *Sejanus*. Alſo when he ſhew'd himſelf, they roſe

roſe up, and laid aſide their * *Hoods*. The Senate alſo Decreed, that he ſhould be added a Supernumerary to the Number of the *Auguſtal Fraternity* of Prieſts; which till then were alwaies choſen by Lot; and ſoon after that, his Houſe which he had loſt by Fire, ſhould be rebuilt at the publick Charge; and that he ſhould have the Privilege to give his Suffrage among the Conſular Perſons. But *Tiberius* the Emperor alleaging his Infirmities, and promiſing to repair the Deformity of the City by the Ruins of the Houſe at his own Expence, that Decree was aboliſh'd. However at his Death, his Uncle was ſo kind to him, as to leave him his Heir of the Third part of his Eſtate among thoſe of the Third Degree, with a farther Legacy of Sixty five hunder'd thouſand Crowns; and recommended him beſides to the Armies, to the Senate, and People of *Rome*, by Name, above all his other Relations.

* *Which were allow'd to Perſons of Quality to defend them from the Weather; ſuch as are generally now worn upon the Backs of Lawyers and Serjeants Gowns.*

7. Under *Caius* his Brothers Son, ſeeking to win the Favour of the People, and ſtrengthen his Intereſt by all manner of Indulgence, being call'd to Preferment, he held the Conſulſhip together with his Kinſman for two Months. And it ſo fell out, that the firſt time as he was entring the *Forum* with the *Faſces* or Rods born before him, that a ſtooping Eagle pearch'd upon his right Shoulder. He was drawn alſo by Lot for another Conſulſhip againſt the next enſuing fourth Year, and preſided at the Publick Games in the room of *Caius*, with the Acclamations of the People, *Wiſhing him all Happineſs*, partly, *as Uncle to the Emperor*, partly, *as Brother to* Germanicus.

8. Nevertheleſs all this could not exempt him from the Emperors putting daily Affronts upon him: For when he came to Supper after the reſt were ſate down, no body was permitted to riſe and give him place, but he was glad to look about and lye down where he could find an empty Room: And as often as he fell a ſleep at the Table after Meals, which was his frequent Cuſtom, they that were waggiſhly given would pelt him with their Olive and Date Stones; ſometimes to make the Emperor ſport, the Sycophants and Buffoons that attended at the Table would rap his Fingers with Ferula's, and yerk him with Whips to wake him; and many times they would put his Pumps upon his Hands, as he lay ſnoaring, that when he wak'd of a ſudden, he might rub his Eyes with the bottom of the Soles.

9. Moreover he was no leſs threaten'd with ſeveral dangers and hazards both of his Honour and his Life. Firſt in his very Conſulſhip, becauſe he was not ſo diligent as he ought to have been, to give order for the erecting the Statues of *Nero* and *Druſus*, the Emperors Brothers, he had like to have been turn'd out of his Office. In the next place he was continually perplex'd and diſturb'd with the Informations, not only of Strangers, but of his Domeſtick Servants. But when the Conſpiracy of *Lepidus* and *Gætulicus* was diſcover'd, being ſent into *Germany* with the reſt of the Commiſſioners to Congratulate *Caligula*'s Deliverance, he ran a great hazard of his Life; while *Caius* fum'd and foam'd, that they could find none but his Uncle to ſend to him, as if he had been a Boy that wanted a Governour. So that there are

ſome

ſome who have adventur'd to report that his Nephew order'd him to be flung into the next River, in his Cloaths as he came. And from thence forward he was the laſt among the Perſons of Conſular Degree that gave his Vote in the Senate, being ſtill the laſt out of meer Contempt, that was ask'd his Opinion. He was alſo Accus'd and a Charge drawn up againſt him for being privy to the Forgery of a Will, to which he had likewiſe ſet his Hand. Laſtly, being compell'd to give Bond for payment of Eight Millions of Seſterces for his admiſſion to the Dignity of a Prieſthood in the Temple which *Caligula* had erected to himſelf, he was reduc'd to that extream Penury, that when he could not pay the Obligation of his Bond to the Treaſurer, he had not a foot of Land left, but what was ſeiz'd by Proceſs from the Officers of the Exchequer by Vertue of the *Confiſcation Law.*

10. Having thus in the midſt of theſe and many more ſuch like Indignities conſum'd the greateſt part of his Life; at length in the Fiftieth year of his Age, he aſcended the Imperial Throne, by a Chance almoſt Miraculous. For being ſhut out among the reſt of the Croud by the Conſpirators againſt *Caius*, under pretence that the Emperor deſirous to be private, had order'd them to clear the Room, he retir'd into a Banqueting-Houſe call'd the *Hermæan* Parlour. Afterwards being terrifi'd upon the Report of the Murder, he ſlipt up into a Chamber of Eaſement over Head, and there clapt himſelf behind the Hangings; where, as he ſtood thinking himſelf ſecure, a Common Soldier accidentally paſſing by, and diſcovering

his Feet, was resolv'd to see who was there; and knowing him, after he had drawn him out ready to dye for fear, and falling upon his Knees to beg his Life, saluted him EMPEROR. From thence he led him to the rest of his Fellow Soldiers, who were yet in a hunder'd Minds, raging and fuming, and all in hurry and confusion. However they put him into a Litter, scarce knowing what they did, and becaus his Servants were all fled, they took him by turns upon their own Shoulders, and hoysted him away to the Camp, sad, dejected and trembling, and pity'd by the People as some Innocent Person hurry'd away to Execution. Being receiv'd within the Trenches, he sate up all night among the Soldiers in the Court of Guard, with little hopes and less assurance. For the Consuls together with the Senate and the City Cohorts, had possess'd themselves of the *Forum* and the Capitol, with a resolution to reassume their ancient Liberty; and he himself being summon'd by the *Tribune* of the People into Court to give his Assent to such Decrees as should be made, return'd for answer, *That he was under a forcible restraint, and could not attend.* But the next day, the Senate growing cool, and their hearts failing in the prosecution of their Design, upon the starting of Difficulties, and Dissentions arising among themselves; and besides not able to withstand the Clamours of the surrounding Multitude, that cry'd out for a single Person, and *Claudius* by Name, they broke up their Assembly. And then it was that *Claudius* summon'd the Armed Soldiers together, and accepted of their Oaths of Fealty, promising withal a Donative of Fifteen *Sesterces* (amounting

ing to about three Shillings) a Man: the firſt time that ever the *Cæſars* purchas'd the Fidelity of the Soldiers with Money.

11. So ſoon as he was fix'd in the Empire, the firſt thing he did, was to aboliſh the Memory of the two days which were ſpent in Conſultation about altering the Form of the Government. To which purpoſe he put forth an Act of Oblivion for ever of all things ſaid and acted at that time, which he moſt religiouſly obſerv'd: Only ſome few Tribunes and Centurions, who had been in the Conſpiracy againſt *Caius*, were excepted and put to death, for Examples ſake; and for that he underſtood, they were in the ſame manner contriving his Murder. From thoſe things he wholly apply'd himſelf to Offices of Piety and Duty; and to prevent idle ſwearing, oblig'd all Men to uſe his Common Oath, which he accounted moſt Sacred, and by which he moſt frequently ſwore, BY *AUGUSTUS*. He took care that Divine Honours ſhould be Decreed his Grand-Mother *Livia*, and at the *Circenſian* Games a Chariot for her Statue drawn by Elephants, as *Auguſtus* had order'd before. He inſtituted Publick Sacrifices to the Ghoſts of his Parents, and in Memory of his Father, *Circenſian Games* every year upon his Birth day, and that the Statue of his Mother ſhould be drawn through the *Cirque* in a Matrons Chariot, call'd *Carpentum*, with the Title of *Auguſta*, which his Mother had refus'd. Likewiſe in Memory of his Brother, which he was careful to Celebrate upon all Occaſions, he order'd a Comedy to be added to the reſt of the *Neapolitan* * Tryals of Skill, and diſtributed the Crowns and Prizes according

* *Appointed for Muſick and Wreſtling.*

according to the Sentences of the Judges. Nor did he pass by * *Marcus Antonius*, without giving him due Honour, in grateful Commemoration of the Person from whom he was descended; one time declaring by an Edict, *That he was the more earnestly importunate for the Celebration of his Father* Drusus's *Birth-day, in regard it was also the day of his Grand-fathers Nativity.* He finish'd the Triumphal Arch of Marble adjoyning to *Pompeys* Theater, formerly Decreed by the Senate in Honour of *Tiberius*, but till then neglected. And as he cancell'd all the Acts of *Caius*, so he would not suffer the day of his Murder, though it were the Commencement of his Reign, to be enter'd among the Publick Festivals.

* *His Grand-father by the Mothers side.*

12. But in assuming Grandeur to himself, sparing and modest, he refus'd the Title of Emperor, slighted all superfluous Honours, and privately without any noise Celebrated his Daughters Nuptials, and the Birth-day of his Grand-child within the Walls of his own House. He recall'd none of those that were banish'd without leave of the Senate, and begg'd their consent, that the Captain of his Guards and some of the Tribunes might be admitted into the Senate House to attend his Person; and that they would confirm what his Procurators had done in the Determination of Causes brought before them. He also requested of the Consuls, that he might have the Tolls and Privileges belonging to Fairs and Markets within the Limits of his own Estate. He was also very assiduously present with the Magistrates at the hearing of Causes, as if he himself had been one of the Counsellors. And when

when any of them exhibited any Games or Shows, he would riſe up with the reſt of the People, and both with his Hand and Voice pay them that Honour and Reſpect which was their due. He excus'd himſelf to the Tribunes of the People coming to attend him as he ſate upon his Tribunal, for that by reaſon of the Croud he could not hear them unleſs they ſtood up. Inſomuch that he had won the Favour and Affection of the People to that degree, that upon a Rumour of his being kill'd by ſurprize as he was going to *Oſtia*, the People ran up and down the Street all in Conſternation and Confuſion, and never left curſing and banning the Soldiers as Traytors, and the Senate for Parricides, till ſeveral Meſſengers that were produc'd by the Magiſtrates before the *Roſtra*, confirm'd him to be ſafe, and not far diſtant upon his return.

13. And yet for all this he was not altogether free from Conſpiracies, not only threatn'd with private Aſſaſſinations of ſingle Factions, but alſo very neer being embroil'd in the Miſeries of a Civil War. For one time an ordinary Ruffian was apprehended about the middle of the night, hankering about his Chamber with a Dagger in his Pocket. And another time two of the *Equeſtrian* Order were diſcover'd watching with a Staff-Rapier, and a Hunts-man's Cutlace, the one to attack him as he came out of the Theater, the other as he was going to offer Sacrifice at the Temple of *Mars*. *Gallus Aſinius* and *Statilius Corvinus*, the Grand-Children of the Orators, *Pollio* and *Meſſala*, having corrupted ſeveral of his Freed-men and Servants, were laying the Foundations of new Troubles and

and Inſurrections in his own Houſe. *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, Legate of *Dalmatia*, was alſo ſetting fire to the Train of a Civil War; but that Flame was extinguiſh'd in five days: For the Soldiers who had raſhly given him their Oaths of Fidelity, of a ſudden aw'd by certain Religious fears, repented of what they had done; ſo that when they were order'd to March to their new Emperor, whether it were by diſappointment from Heaven, or by ſome unuſual Accident, it ſo happen'd that they could neither bruſh off the Duſt from the *Eagles*, nor move the Enſigns when they came to pull them up out of the Ground.

14. He held four Conſulſhips, beſides his firſt of all wherein he was joyn'd with *Caius*; of which the two firſt were ſucceſſive one after another; between the other two there was Four years Interval; the laſt for half a year; the reſt no longer than two Months; and the Third, which never was known of an Emperor before, only ſubſtituted into the Place of another that dy'd. In the Adminiſtration of Juſtice no Man more diligent nor laborious, as well during his Conſulſhip as afterwards; not excuſing himſelf either upon his own or the Feſtivals Dedicated to his Relations; nor would the obſervation of Ancient and Religious Solemnities debar him from that Noble Exerciſe. Nor would he always follow the Letter of the Law, but ſometimes moderate the Rigour of it where too ſevere, and improve it to ſeverity where too mild, according to what he thought was moſt agreeable to *Juſt* and *Equal*. For to thoſe who before Inferior Judges had loſt their Suits for want of Form in the

the Proceedings, he gave leave to renew their Actions. On the other ſide, if they were Convicted of any notorious Fraud, then he would ſtrain the Puniſhment of the Law, and Condemn them to the Beaſts.

15. But in hearing and determining, very unconſtant and various in his Humour: Sometimes Circumſpect and Conſiderative; at other times Raſh and Inconſiderate; ſometimes Impertinent and like a Man diſtracted. When he was altering the Rolls of the *Decuries*, if there were any Perſon call'd upon to ſupply the Place of the Judge that was put out, who had a lawful excuſe, as a great charge of Children or the like, and did not plead it, he would preſently diſmiſs him, as a Perſon too Ambitious of the Place, and deſigning Profit by it. Another Perſon being ſummon'd to a Tryal before the Emperor in a Caſe that concern'd himſelf, and as Defendant aſſerting that the Cauſe did not lye before the Emperor, but before the Ordinary Judge, he order'd the Cauſe to be immediately argu'd before himſelf, to let the World ſee, by the Juſtice which he ſhew'd in his own, how Equitable he could be in the Caſe of another Man. A Woman diſowning her Son, and the Proofs againſt her being very ſlender, he adjudg'd to marry the young Lad, and by that means brought her to acknowledge what ſhe had ſo ſtifly deny'd. He always gave Judgement for thoſe that appear'd againſt thoſe that were abſent, never minding whether it were Contempt of the Court or any Neceſſity that enforc'd their abſence. A certain Perſon crying, that the Hands of one that was Convicted of Forgery were

were to be cut off, he ſent for an Executioner forthwith, and order'd him to bring along with him a Cleaver and a Butcher's Block. A Stranger being accus'd to have uſurp'd the Privileges of *Roman Freedom*, upon a difference ariſing between the Advocates, whether the Party accus'd ſhould Plead in a Gown or a Cloak, as if he had hit the Nail on the Head, he order'd that when he was Accus'd he ſhould wear a Gown, and when he made his Defence he ſhould put on a Cloak. In a certain Caſe he is reported to have given his Judgment out of his Pocket-Book, *That he was of the ſame Opinion with thoſe who had ſpoken the Truth.* Theſe and ſuch like Impertinencies render'd him contemptible in all Places and to all People wherever he came. Inſomuch that a certain Perſon excuſing a Witneſs that he had ſummon'd out of one of the Provinces, deny'd that he could poſſibly arrive ſo ſoon; Upon which the Emperor demanding the Reaſon, the other after many Shifts and Evaſions at length made anſwer, *Why, Sir, he dy'd at* Puteoli. Another after he had return'd him Thanks for ſuffering a Perſon that was Endited to make his Defence, added theſe words, *And yet it is no more than what is Cuſtomary.* And I have heard it ſpoken by ſeveral Aged Perſons, that the Lawyers would frequently ſo far abuſe his Patience, that when he was going off his Tribunal, they would not only call him back, but ſtop him, either by pulling him by the Gown, or catching hold of his Foot. And that no body may think theſe things ſo much to be admir'd at, there was a certain inconſiderable *Greek* Pettifogger, who had the Impudence to reproach

reproach him to his Face with this bold Expreſſion καὶ σὺ γεγὼν εἶ, καὶ μωρός, *And thou art an old Dotard and a Fool to boot.* And as certain it is, that a *Roman* Knight being accus'd of unnatural Obſcœnity with Women, but falſely out of Malice; when he ſaw that Common Strumpets were ſuborn'd and ſummon'd as Evidence againſt him, and that the Emperor liſten'd to their Teſtimonies, he took the ſharp writing Iron, and the Table-Books which he held in his hand, and upbraiding him at the ſame time with his Folly and Severity, threw them with that force at his Head, that lighting upon his Cheek, they ript up a long ſlit in the Fleſh.

16. He alſo aſſum'd the Office of the *Cenſorſhip*, that had been long diſcontinu'd after the laſt *Cenſorſhip* of *Paulus* and *Plancus*; but with the ſame unequal Temper, and variety of ſucceſs. Upon a review of the *Roman* Knights, he paſs'd over a young Gentleman notorious for his Debauchery, becauſe his Father teſtifi'd he was very honeſt to him, alleaging, *That he had a Cenſor of his own.* Another no leſs Vicious and Infamous for his Adulteries, he diſmiſs'd with only giving him good Advice, *Either to be more indulgent to his Youth, or elſe to be more Cautious*; adding withal this grave Sentence, *What have I to do to know who is your Miſtreſs?* And when at the Importunity of ſome of his Favourites, he had taken off a Note of Infamy from ſome one whom he had ſet down in his black Book; *Yet*, ſaid he, *the Blot will remain.* On the other ſide, he ſtrook out of the number of the Judges a Perſon of Conſiderable Quality, and one of the Chief Men in the Province of

of *Greece*, and reduc'd him disfranchis'd to the Condition of a Foreigner, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he could not ſpeak *Latin*. Nor would he ſuffer any one to give an accompt of his Life by Proxy, but he muſt make his Relation with his own Lips as well as he could. Many alſo he mark'd with diſgrace for a Cauſe of a new Nature, and ſome when they never ſuſpected any ſuch thing, becauſe they had preſum'd to depart *Italy* without his Knowledge and Paſs. And one among the reſt, becauſe he attended upon a King in his Province: alleaging the Preſident of *Rabinius Poſthumus*, who for waiting upon *Ptolomy* to *Alexandria*, though it were to ſecure a Debt which the King ow'd him, was impeach'd of High Treaſon. He endeavour'd alſo to have branded ſeveral with Infamy, whom through the negligence of the Examiners, though more to his own ſhame, he found to be blameleſs; while every one of thoſe whom he tax'd with living unmarry'd, or with want of Children, or for their Poverty, prov'd themſelves to be marry'd, to have Children, and good Eſtates. And one there was, who being Accus'd for having laid violent hands upon himſelf, ſtript himſelf ſtark naked, to convince him of his Miſinformation. Other remarkable Paſſages in his Cenſorſhip were theſe; That hearing of a Silver Calaſh, a Curious Piece of Workmanſhip, that was to be ſold in the *Sigillarian* Street, he caus'd it to be bought and broken to pieces before his face; and that one day he publiſh'd twenty Edicts; of two of which the firſt was, *That in regard there was like to be a plentiful Vintage, the People ſhould take care to get their Tubs well pitch'd*; the ſecond,

ſecond, *That there was no Remedy againſt the biting of a Viper, like the Juice of a Yew Tree.*

17. He never undertook but one Expedition, and that not very conſiderable neither; but which the Flattery of the Senate indeed put him upon. For they having Decreed him Triumphal Ornaments, he thought it below the Majeſty of Imperial Dignity; and therefore reſolving upon ſome Enterprize that might entitle him to a deſerved Triumph, he made choice of *Britain* for the Seat of Action, never attempted by any ſince *Julius Cæſar*'s time, and then in Rebellion, for his protecting certain Fugitives which they redemanded. Putting therefore to Sea from *Oſtia*, he had like to have been twice drownd through the violence of a Southern Wind, once upon the Shore of *Liguria*, and afterwards not far from the * *Stœchades* Iſlands. And therefore marching by Land from *Marſeilles* to *Geſſoriacum* (or *Boulogne*) he there croſs'd over into *Britain*; where without either Battel or Blood-ſhed, part of the Iſland ſubmitting within few days to his Subjection, he return'd to *Rome* the ſixth Month after his departure, and made his Triumphal Entry with great Splendour and Magnificence. And for the greater Honour of the Show, he not only permitted the Governours of Provinces to come to the Spectacle, but alſo ſome that had been long in Baniſhment. And among the Spoils of his Enemies, he ſet up a *Naval Crown* upon the top of the *Palatine* Houſe, cloſe by the † *Civick*, to teſtifie his Victory over the *Ocean*, by croſſing the *Britiſh Streights*. His Wife follow'd next to his Triumphal Chariot in her *Carpentum*: After her came

* Les Iſles d'Hieres Tiran, Porteros, *and* Porquerolles, *not far from* Marſeilles.

† *The uſe of which was always hereditary to the Emperors, and ſet up upon their Palaces of Courſe.*

came those that had acquir'd Triumphal Ornaments in the same War: The rest follow'd a foot, and only in their Gowns fac'd with Purple. Only *Crassus Frugi* had the Honour to ride mounted upon a Horse richly Caparison'd, himself in a Robe Embroider'd with Palm Branches; because he had had the Honour of attending a Triumph of the same Nature in a former Reign.

18. No Man more sedulously Industrious than he to preserve the City from Fire and Famine. When the *Æmilian* Structures were on Fire he sate up two Nights in the * *Diribitory*, and observing the Soldiers and his Domestick Servants beginning to grow weary, he order'd the Magistrates to call forth the Inhabitants Street by Street to their Relief; and sending for several Trunks full of Money to be set before him, he encouraged the People to work hard, by shewing them how well he was provided to reward them as they deserv'd. In a time of extream scarcity, by reason of the Barrenness of several Years one after another, he was one day stopt in the *Forum* by the Rabble, revil'd and rail'd at, and pelted with Mouldy Crusts, so that he had much a do to make his escape by slipping into his Palace at a Postern Gate. Which made him ever afterwards omit nothing of Care and Invention to have Provisions brought in for the supply of the City even in the Winter time; proposing to the Merchants for their Encouragement a certain Gain, and taking all losses by Shipwrack or Leakage upon himself; and farther,

* *Which was the Place where the Tickets were distributed to those that came to give their Suffrages, over against the* Flaminian Cirque, *and consequently the most proper and nearest place for the Emperor to be ready for the giving of Orders.*

further, propounding great Advantages to those that should build Ships of Burthen for the Importation of all useful and necessary Commodities, and the advancement of Trade, according to the Condition of every Man.

19. If they were Citizens, he exempted them from the Execution of the * *Papian Law*: If *Latins* he allow'd them the Freedom of *Romans*; and to their Wives he allow'd the same Privileges as to Women that had four Children; which Constitutions are observ'd even to this day.

20. He finish'd several great Structures rather Magnificent than useful: More especially the *Aqueduct* begun by *Caius*; also the Sluce to let the Water out of the Lake † *Fucinus*; and the Haven of *Ostia*: The first of which was deny'd by *Augustus* to the *Marsi*, though they most earnestly besought him; and the other was often design'd, but as soon given over by reason of the Difficulty of the Enterprize. He brought the Coole and Milky Fountains of the *Claudian Water*, the one call'd *Cæruleus*, the other *Curtius* or *Albudinus*, and the River of *Anio* through Canals of Stone-work into the City, and divided them into several Ponds which he beautify'd with variety of Workmanship. He attempted to let out the Lake *Fucinus*, as much in hopes of Profit, as ambitious of Honour; in regard that several Persons had offer'd him, when he was a private Person, to have undertaken the same Project, so that they might have the draind Lands for their pains. With much difficulty he finish'd the Canal three Miles in length, partly by digging,

* *By which all Foreigners were to be expell'd the City; upon the Complaints of the Embassadors of the* Roman *Allies, that they could not keep their Inhabitants at home by reason the Priviledges of being a* Roman *Citizen were so great.*

† *Now* Lago di Celano, *and* Lago di Marso.

ing, partly cutting his way through the Mountain, after the Toil of eleven years; all which time he had Thirty thouſand Men continually at work. He made the Harbour of *Oſtia*, embracing it with an Arm of Stone-work, from the right to the left hand; and fortifying the Entrance with a Mole, the Foundations of which were laid deep in the Sea; and the more to ſtrengthen it, he ſunk juſt before it the huge Veſſel which brought the Prodigious *Coloſſus* out of *Ægypt*; and upon Piles driven into the Sea erected a high Tower, in imitation of the *Pharos* of *Alexandria*, with a Beacon wherein to keep Fires in the Night time for the Benefit of ſuch Ships as ſteer'd their Courſe that way in the dark.

21. He gave great Largeſſes frequently to the People, and exhibited ſeveral Shows at vaſt and magnificent Expences; not only ſuch as were common and in the uſual Places, but rare and new Inventions, and ſome regain'd out of the Ruins of Antiquity, and in places where never any had been ſhewn before. After he had finiſh'd *Pompey*'s Theater which had been burnt to the Ground, he ſolemniz'd certain Plays at the Dedication of it, and plac'd his Tribunal at the upper end of the Seats where the *Equeſtrian* Order had their Seats aſſign'd, call'd the *Orcheſtra*, from whence he gave the Signal when to begin; after he had made his Supplications in the Temple of * *Venus* over head, and thence deſcended through the Pit, all the People keeping their Seats with awful ſilence as he paſs'd along. He alſo reinſtituted the ſecular Plays, as

* *Which was generally over the Theater, as there was one particularly built by* Pompey *over his Theater, and Dedicated to that Goddeſs.*

as if they had been anticipated by *Auguſtus*, and not reſerv'd till their proper Seaſon; although he himſelf in his own Hiſtory declares, *That thoſe Plays being diſcontinu'd*, Auguſtus *long after, having made a moſt accurate Computation of the years, reduc'd them into Method and Order.* And therefore the Cryer was laugh'd at, when he invited the People to Plays, *which they had never ſeen before, nor never ſhould ſee again*; whereas there were ſeveral Perſons then living who had formerly beheld them: And ſome of the Actors who had been formerly Performers in the ſame Plays, had their Parts alſo in theſe exhibited by *Claudius*. He alſo frequently preſented the *Circenſian* Games, ſometimes interpoſing a Chace of Wild Beaſts between every five Careers. But after he had adorn'd the largeſt *Circus* of all with Marble Barriers, and guilt Race-Poſts, which were formerly of common Stone and Wood, he aſſign'd the Senators their diſtinct and proper Places, who were wont to ſit promiſcuouſly with the common People before. And to the Tryals of Skill between the Chariots with four Horſes, he added the Military Divertiſements of the *Trojans*, and the *Panther-Chace*, maintain'd by a Troop of his *Prætorian* Horſe, Commanded by the *Tribunes*, and himſelf at the head of them; and for the farther Ornament of the ſame *Shows*, he brought in alſo certain *Theſſalian* Horſe-men, that drave wild Bulls about the vacant Spaces of the *Circus* till they were tyr'd, and then leaping upon their Backs pull'd them down to the Ground by the Horns. Gladiatory Combats he exhibited in ſeveral Places and at ſeveral Times. He had one Sword-Play Annually

in the *Prætorian Camp*, in Commemoration of his being advanc'd to the Empire, without any Chaces or extraordinary Preparations; but another perfect, with all its Formalities, in the *Septa*; alſo in the ſame Place one that was extraordinary, and but of ſhort continuance only for a few days, which he began to call *Sportula*; for that when he firſt deſign'd it, he made Proclamation, *That he only invited the People to a running and ſociable Repaſt, where he lookt upon himſelf as one of the Gueſts.* Nor was he at any other ſort of publick Show more frequently preſent, or more remiſs and frank in his Humour; ſo that when the Money was laid down which was to be given to the Victors, he would put forth his * left Hand, and with the reſt of the People tell it out, counting with his Voice, as well as drawing it with his Fingers, by way of farther Encouragement, uſing the familiar Expreſſion of *Come my Maſters I muſt have ye be merry*, and no leſs free of his Jokes and Jeaſts, though very inſipid and far fetch'd. Such a one was that, when the People asking him for a *Gladiator* whoſe Name was *Palumbus* (or *Ringdove*) he made anſwer, *They ſhould have him as ſoon as he could catch him.* And that other, no leſs flat, though pertinent and ſeaſonable, when he had diſcharg'd a Chariot-Driver from farther Duty at the humble requeſt of his four Sons, to the infinite ſatisfaction of the People, he immediately ſent abroad little Notes, to put the People in mind, *What a happy thing it was to get Children, ſince the benefit and effect of their Interceſſions was ſo advantageous to a* Gladiator. Among other ſights, he gave them the Repreſentation

* *For from one to a hundred it was the Cuſtom to tell Money with the Left Hand; but onwards from a hundred with the Right.*

Repreſentation of a Town beſieg'd, ſtorm'd, and ſack'd, as if it had been in actual War; together with the Formalities of the ſubmiſſion made by the Kings of *Britain*, and preſided at this ſame Sport in his Imperial Robes. And before he went about to empty the *Lake Fucinus*, he ſet forth the Repreſentation of a Sea Engagement upon the ſame Lake; and when the Mariners ready to begin, cry'd out, *Farewel Emperor, they who are going to dye, pray for your Health and Proſperity*, he anſwer'd in their own Language, *Farewel to ye all.* After which words, as if he had excus'd them from the Conflict, not a Man would ſtrike a ſtroke, being a long time in debate with themſelves whether he intended to deſtroy them all with Fire and Sword or no; till at length the Emperor ſtarting up from his Seat, and running from one ſide of the Lake to the other, in an undecent and ſtaggering Poſture, partly by Threats, and partly by Encouragement and fair Words, prevail'd upon them to proceed and begin the Show. This Spectacle was the Repreſentation between the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* Fleets, conſiſting each of Twelve Galleys of three rows of Oars a piece, and which was yet more rare, the Charge was ſounded by a *Silver Triton*, that roſe by Engin-work out of the middle of the Lake.

22. Some Alterations he alſo made in Ceremonies, as alſo in Military Diſcipline and the Civil Government; as alſo in reference to the Preſent Condition of the ſeveral Degrees and Orders of Men, both at home and abroad: where in ſome things he reform'd, other things that were grown obſolete he reſtor'd, or elſe

made new Inſtitutions. In the Elections of Prieſts through all the Colleges, he never nam'd any Perſon before he had taken the Oath of the Society. And it was a Cuſtom which he Religiouſly obſerv'd, that as often as any Earthquake happen'd in the City, he order'd the Prætor to ſummon an Aſſembly, and Proclaim a ſolemn Humiliation: Or if any Ominous Bird were ſeen in the City or about the Capitol, that Publick Prayers and Proceſſions ſhould be ordain'd, at what time he himſelf would march before by vertue of his Privilege of being High Prieſt, after he had made ſome Pious Exhortation to the People before the *Roſtra*; to which purpoſe the Streets were all clear'd of the Rabble, Mechanicks, and Slaves.

23. And whereas formerly the whole year was divided into Vacations, and Summer and Winter Terms for the hearing of Cauſes, he order'd that thoſe Affairs ſhould be diſpatch'd at all times of the year without Exception. He likewiſe farther Enacted that the Embezlement of Truſts, of which formerly the Magiſtrates only took cognizance once a year, and that no where neither but in the City, ſhould be liable to be queſtion'd at all times, and not only in the City, but in the Provinces alſo. He likewiſe abrogated that Clauſe of the * *Papian Poppæan* Law, which *Tiberius* had added, as if a Man of Threeſcore were uncapable of getting Children. He alſo order'd that the Conſuls only notwithſtanding any former Cuſtoms, ſhould appoint *Guardians* for the Government of ſuch as were under Age; and

* *Whereby it was ordain'd that no Man who was Threeſcore ſhould marry any Woman under Fifty.*

and that they who were proſcrib'd the Provinces by the Magiſtrates, ſhould be baniſh'd not only out of the City, but alſo out of *Italy*. And as to ſome Perſons he brought up a new Cuſtom himſelf of confining them not to ſtir beyond ſo many Miles of the City. When there was any Affair of Importance to be debated, he plac'd himſelf in the Tribunes Seat between the two Conſuls. But as for Paſſes for Travelling, and Warrants for leave to be abſent, he aſſum'd the Diſpoſal of them, as Favours, for which they that wanted them, ſhould be beholding to none but himſelf.

24. He gave Liberty to his Procurators, to whom he allow'd Five thouſand Crowns a year, to wear Triumphal Ornaments; and thoſe that refus'd the *Senatorian Order*, he alſo depriv'd of the *Equeſtrian* Dignity. However, though he made open proteſtation that he would not make choice of any one to be a Senator, that was not a Citizen of *Rome* in three Deſcents, nevertheleſs he gave the broad Purple Stud to the Son of one whoſe Father had been an Apprentice, but upon this Condition, that he ſhould be firſt Adopted by a Gentleman of *Rome*. However fearing to be reprehended for what he had done, he alleag'd that *Appius Claudius*, the Blind, one of the firſt Founders of his Family, had choſen into the Senate, when he was *Cenſor*, the Sons of Perſons that had been Servants; not underſtanding that when *Appius* liv'd, and for many years after that, *Libertini* were ſuch as were made free by Manumiſſion, but that their Children were counted *Ingenui*, as being born of *Freemen*. He enjoyn'd the College of the *Quæſtors*, inſtead of being

being at the Charges for repairing and paving the Highways and Streets, to give a *Gladiatory* Show to the People. And having diſcharg'd them of the Care of the Sea Coaſts of *Oſtia* and *Gallia*, he reſtor'd them to their Ancient Employment of inſpecting the Treaſury of *Saturn*; which had been committed to the care of the *Prætors*, or thoſe that had born the Office of the *Prætorſhip*, during that interval. He gave permiſſion to *Silanus*, contracted to his Daughter, to wear the Triumphal Ornaments, though he were not yet arriv'd to the Fourteenth year of his Age. But as to thoſe that were of Age, he granted the ſame Privilege to ſo many, and ſo eaſily, that there is a Letter extant in the name of all the Legions, wherein they humbly beſeech him, *That together with the Command of the Army, the Triumphal Ornaments might be given to the Conſular Legates, that they might have no pretence to ſeek occaſions of War.* He alſo Decreed the Honour of an Ovation to *Aulus Plautius*, and meeting him at his entrance into the City, walk'd by his ſide as he paſs'd along to the *Capitol*, and as he return'd from thence. He alſo gave *Gabinius Secundus* leave, after he had ſubdu'd the * *Chauci*, a People of *Germany*, to aſſume the Sirname of *Chaucius*.

* *They were either* Chauci Minores, *where now lyes* Eaſt Freiſlandt; *or* Chauci Majores, *now the Dutchy of* Bremen.

25. In the Diſpoſal of his Cavalry, as to their Precedency in Marching, he obſerv'd this Order, that next to the Command of a Wing of an Auxiliary Cohort, ſhould be the Commander of an Auxiliary Wing of Horſe; and next to the Command of a Wing, the Tribuneſhip of a Legion. He alſo inſtituted an

an *Imaginary* ſort of *Militia*, which was call'd *above the Number*, and allow'd them a certain Pay, though they did no Duty, and had only the Name of Soldiers. He alſo forbid the Soldiers by a Decree of the *Fathers*, to enter the Houſes of any Senators, under pretence of Morning Salutations. He confiſcated the Goods of *Libertines*, or ſuch as were born of Perſons made free, that aſſum'd to themſelves the Title of Gentlemen of *Rome*. Thoſe of whoſe Ingratitude their Patrons complain'd, he condemn'd to their former Servitude, and declar'd to their Advocates, that their Enfranchiz'd Bondmen ſhould have the ſame Juſtice done them, if they prov'd unworthy of that Relief which the Law afforded them. And being inform'd that certain Patrons, impatient of the Cure at home, had ſent their ſick and diſeaſed Slaves into the Iſland of *Eſculapius*, as reſigning them up to be recover'd by Miracle, or elſe to periſh, he ordain'd that all the Slaves ſo expos'd ſhould be for ever after Freemen, and that they ſhould never be ſubject more to their Patrons, though they recover'd; and that if any Patron ſhould rather chooſe to kill his Servant than expoſe him, he ſhould be guilty of Murder. He made a Decree likewiſe, that no * Traveller ſhould paſs through any of the Towns of *Italy*, but either a foot, or in a Sedan, or elſe in a Litter. At *Puteoli* and *Oſtia* he quarter'd ſeveral Cohorts; as being Towns that were more ſubject than others to Fire. And he forbid all Foreigners to aſſume to themſelves *Roman* Names, but to be contented with the Names which they had given them

* *To prevent the Spoiling of the Highways by the heavy draughts of Waggons and Chariots. Such another Act was our late Carriers Act.*

them in their Native Countries. In which respect he was so severe, that he cut off the Heads of some in the * *Esquiline Field*. He restor'd to the Senate the Provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, which *Tiberius* had taken into his own care. The *Lycians* he depriv'd of their Liberty, by reason of the pernicious Discords that endanger'd their utter Ruin; but restor'd it to the *Rhodians* upon their submission, and penitent Acknowledgement of their former Misdemeanors. But as for the *Trojans*, as being the Founders of the *Roman* Nation, he releas'd them of their Tributes for ever; producing an old *Greek* Epistle of the Senate and People of *Rome*, assuring King *Seleucus* of their Friendship and Allyance, upon Condition that he discharg'd their Kindred the *Ilienses* or *Trojans* from all manner of publick Duties and Taxes. He expell'd the *Jews* out of *Rome*, continually raising Tumults and Commotions, at the Instigation of one † *CHRESTOS*. He gave the *German* Embassadors leave to sit in the *Orchestra*, mov'd thereto by their Courage and Plain-dealing; for that being carry'd into the Theater, and plac'd in the Pit among the Common People, when they saw the *Parthian* and *Armenian* Embassadors sitting among the Senators, they remov'd themselves to the same Place of their own accords, affirming they were not Inferior either to the one or the other, either in Vertue or Quality. The Religion of the *Druids*,

* *Where the Bodies of poor People were either burnt, or else lay unburied; and which was anciently the common Place of Execution.*

† *For so the Heathen at that time call'd the Saviour of the World; changing the* I *into* E *by way of Contumely and Derision. And therefore no wonder that* Suetonius *and* Tacitus *mention him so irreligiously; though the word* Chrestos *in this place is not properly to be understood of the Person, but of the Doctrine of Christ, preacht at* Rome *by his Disciples.*

Druids, as being moſt * deteſtably inhuman, though no more than only forbidden to the Citizens of *Rome*, he utterly aboliſh'd. On the other ſide he took great care to Tranſlate the Rites and Myſteries of the *Eleuſinian* Solemnities from *Attica* to *Rome*. Moreover, he order'd that the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, in *Sicily*, which Time had almoſt ruin'd, ſhould be repair'd at the Expences of the *Roman* Exchequer. He made Leagues and Alliances with Foreign Princes in the *Forum*, with the Formalities of Sacrificing a Sow, and the uſual † Proclamation of the ancient *Feciales* or Heralds at Arms. But theſe and other things, and indeed the greateſt part of the Actions of his whole Reign were manag'd not according to his own Inclination, but by the advice and direction of his Wife, and his Enfranchiz'd Bond-men. In all places and at all times deporting himſelf ſo, as they thought moſt expedient for their own Advantage.

* *In regard they Sacrific'd their Captives, and Conſulted the Bowels of Men for the Succeſs of their Affair.*

† *The Ceremony was this, When* Tullius *made a League with the* Albans, *the Herald with a loud Voice cry'd*, Doſt thou Command me, O King, to make a League with the *Alban* King? *The King conſenting, then the Herald*, I require Vervain from thee, O King. *To which the King*, Take it neat and clean. *Then the Herald goes and cuts a handful of clean Vervain and brings it him, and then asks him again*, O King, doſt thou make me the Royal Meſſenger in behalf of the People of *Rome*? My Furniture and Companions? *To whom the King reply'd*, What may be done without any deceit on my part or of the People of *Rome*, that do. *Then the Herald making choice of one of his Collegiater, touches his Head and his Hair with the Vervain, by which Ceremony he is made* Pater Patratus, *or a Perſon impour'd to ſwear to the Ratification of the League; which he as a Solemn and Sacred Perſon does, and not the King.*

26. While he was very young, he was twice contracted to two Ladies: The firſt was *Emilia Lepida*, great Grand-daughter to *Auguſtus*; the

the ſecond, *Livia Medullina*, Sirnam'd *Camilla*, as being deſcended from *Camillus* the *Dictator*. The former, by reaſon her Parents had offended *Auguſtus*, he turn'd off a Virgin: The latter dy'd upon the very day that was appointed for the Nuptials. After that he marry'd *Plautia Urgulanilla*, whoſe Father had been honour'd with a Triumph; and next to her, *Elia Petina*, Daughter to one who had been *Conſul*. Both theſe he divorc'd; *Petina* for ſlight and trivial Exceptions; but *Urgulanilla* for notorious Proſtitution, and ſuſpition of Murder. After all theſe, he took to Wife *Valeria Meſſalina*, the Daughter of *Barbatus Meſſalina*, his Couſin German; but her, when he had diſcover'd, among the reſt of her laſcivious Impieties and notorious Proſtitutions of her Body, that ſhe was marry'd already to *C. Silius*, after he had conſign'd the Portion he had with her into the hands of the *Auſpices*, he put to death; and before an Aſſembly of the *Prætorian* Guard, ſolemnly proteſted, *That ſince he had had ſuch ill luck in his Marriages, that he would for the future keep himſelf a Widower, freely forgiving them though they ſhould kill him, if he did not continue in that Reſolution.* However he could not contain himſelf, but fell in Treaty firſt with *Petina*, whom he had formerly put away; and then with *Lollia Paulina*, who had been marry'd to *C. Cæſar*. At length not able to reſiſt the Careſſes and Allurements of *Agrippina*, his Brother *Germanicus*'s Daughter, and the Privilege of kiſſing and dallying with his neareſt Relation, adding Fuel to his Amorous Flames, he ſuborn'd certain Perſons to move, *That he might be conſtrain'd to marry* Agrippina,

grippina, *as being the only means conducible to perpetuate the publick Tranquility*; and that there might be a Toleration alſo for others to contract Marriages in the ſame degree, which till that time had been always counted Inceſtuous: and he was ſo impatient that he could not ſtay till the next day to prepare for his Wedding. Nevertheleſs there were not any that follow'd his Example, unleſs it were a certain Libertine, and a Chief Centurion of a Legion, to both which Weddings he invited himſelf and his Wife *Agrippina* for the encouragement of others.

27. He had Children by all his three Wives; by *Urgulanilla*, *Druſus* and *Claudia*; *Antonia* by his Wife *Petina*; and by *Meſſalina Octavia*, and a Son, whom firſt of all he call'd *Germanicus*, but after that *Britanicus*. *Druſus* he loſt at *Pompeiæ*, choak'd with a Pear, which having toſs'd up into the Air, in gaping to catch it again, fell ſo exactly into his Mouth, that it ſtuck in his Throat; an untimely Misfortune to the young Lad, who had been Contracted but ſome few days before to the Daughter of *Sejanus*: Which makes me wonder at the Report which was then ſpread abroad, as if he had been Treacherouſly taken out of the World by *Sejanus*. But for his Daughter *Claudia*, becauſe he believ'd her to have been begot by his Enfranchiz'd Bondman *Boter*, though born five Months before his Divorce, and by himſelf begun to be taken care of; however he caus'd her to be ſtript ſtark naked and laid at her Mothers Door. *Antonia* he marry'd firſt to *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, afterwards to *Fauſtus Sylla*, two young Gentlemen of Noble Extraction. *Octavia* he eſpous'd to *Nero* his Wives

* *Now* Torre dell Annunciata.

Wives Son, though ſhe had been contracted before to *Silanus*. As for *Britanicus*, who was born the Twentieth day after he came to the Empire; and in his ſecond Conſulſhip, being but an Infant, he would frequently take him up in his Arms, and recommend him in all his Speeches to the Soldiers, and to the People, either ſiting in his Lap at the Publick Shows, or elſe ſtanding between his Knees, giving him his Bleſſing, and wiſhing him all future Proſperity in the midſt of the Acclamations of the Croud, joyning their beſt Wiſhes with his. Of all his Sons in Law, he Adopted only *Nero*: But as for *Pompey* and *Silanus*, he not only refus'd them that Honour, but put them both to death.

28. Among all his Enfranchis'd Bond-men, he had the greateſt Kindneſs for *Poſides* the Eunuch; to whom in his *Britiſh* Triumph, among all his other Military Officers and Perſons of noted Worth, he preſented a * Spear without an Iron Head. The next in his Affection was *Harpocras*, who by his permiſſion had the Privilege of being carry'd through the City in a Litter, and to exhibit publick Shows and Games. *Polybius*, who aſſiſted him in his Studies he highly Honour'd, inſomuch that he gave him leave frequently to walk between the two Conſuls: But his chiefeſt Favourites were *Narciſſus*, his Secretary, and *Pallas*, the Controller of his Houſhold; to whom he was ſo vaſtly Munificent, that he not only loaded them by Decree of the Senate with Exceſſive Marks of his Bounty, but advanc'd them to the Dignities of *Quæſtors*

* *An Honour due only to thoſe whoſe Courage had firſt put the Enemy to flight in Battel.*

Quæſtors and *Prætors*; and gave them that uncontroulable liberty to enrich themſelves by all manner of Extortion and Rapine, that one day complaining how low his Treaſures were reduc'd, this nipping Anſwer was made him, *That he might wallow in Wealth, if his two Enfranchiz'd Bond-men would but admit him to a reaſonable ſhare with them in their Gains.*

29. Being thus uxoriouſly addicted, and altogether led by his Wives, and ſuch kind of Perſons as theſe were, he ſhew'd himſelf to be rather a Servant, than a Prince, diſpoſing of Honours, Armies, Immunities and Puniſhments, either to gratifie their inſatiable Avarice, or their luſtful Deſigns; and for the moſt part, for want of Conſideration, not knowing what he did. For not to muſter up all the Particulars of his revok'd Liberalities, his Judgments revers'd, his Patents and Grants of Offices either forg'd, or publickly alter'd, he put to death *Appius Silanus*, and the two *Julia's*, the one the Daughter of *Druſus*, the other of *Germanicus*, for nothing of certainty laid to their Charge, and without ſuffering them to make any defence for themſelves; as alſo *Cn. Pompeius* his eldeſt Daughters Husband, and *L. Silanus* marry'd to the younger Daughter: *Pompey* being ſtabb'd in the Embraces of a young *Ganimed* whom he moſt paſſionately affected; and *Silanus* being compell'd to ſurrender his *Prætorſhip* about the latter end of *December*, and put to death at the beginning of the Year, upon the very day that the Nuptials of *Claudius* and *Agrippina* were Celebrated. Moreover he ſign'd a Warrant for the Execution of Thirty Senators, and above Three hun-

der'd *Roman* Knights with ſo much precipitancy, that when a certain Centurion brought him word of the Death of ſuch a Conſular Perſon, in theſe Words, *That his Commands were obey'd*, he deny'd, *That ever he gave any ſuch Command, however ſince 'twas done, he approv'd the Fact*; upon the affirmation of his enfranchiz'd Bond-men, that the Soldiers had done no more than their duty, in running of their own accords to vindicate the Emperors Authority. But this is a thing hardly to be believ'd, that he ſhould be ſo bewitch'd as to ſign the Writings for the ſettlement of the Dowry upon the Contract of Marriage between *Meſſalina* and her Adulterer *Silius*; yet he was induc'd thereto by being made believe, that it was only a Contrivance found out to delude the Fates themſelves, and to transfer upon the Head of another Man, thoſe diſaſters which the Predictions of the Southſayers and ſeveral Prodigies had fix'd upon his Perſon.

30. He wanted neither Majeſty nor Comelineſs of Shape and Lineaments, either ſitting or ſtanding, but eſpecially as he lay aſleep; for he was tall and ſlender; his Grey Locks and Sanguine Complexion adding much to the gracefulneſs of his Aſpect; only his Neck was thick and ſhort: But that which was the worſt, was the ſlenderneſs of his Legs that fail'd him as he walk'd: and whether he were in a merry or ſerious Humour, many other things diſgrac'd his outward Deportment; as an unbeſeeming way of laughter; and when he was in a Paſſion, what was much more unbecoming, a foaming at the Mouth, and running at his Noſtrils, beſides a ſtammering in his Speech; and at all times a wagging of his Head, more eſpecially

eſpecially if he were buſied in any Action, though never ſo ſlight and inconſiderable.

31. As he had formerly been very ſickly, ſo after he came to the Empire he enjoy'd his Health ſo perfectly well, that he never had any Sickneſs but once; at what time he was taken with ſuch a violent pain in his Stomach, that as he afterwards confeſs'd, he had ſome thoughts of laying violent hands upon himſelf, to rid himſelf out of his pain.

32. His Entertainments were magnificent and large, and for the moſt part in the moſt open and ſpacious Places of the City, where he would ſometimes have ſix hunder'd Gueſts at a time. Among the reſt he had one great Feaſt upon the Dike which he had made to let the Water out of the Lake *Fucinus*, where he had like to have been drown'd, through the failing of a Dam, that let the Water out with an unexpected and rapid impetuoſity. At all his Feaſts he had his own and the Children of all the Nobility, who according to the ancient Cuſtom, were ſerv'd at the lower End of the Table. One time among the reſt, one of his Gueſts being ſuſpected to have made bold with a Gold Plate, he invited him again the next day, and caus'd an Earthen Diſh to be ſet before him. He is alſo reported to have had ſome thoughts of making a Decree, that it might be lawful for any Man to break Wind at the Table; being told of a Perſon whoſe Modeſt Retention had like to have coſt him his Life.

33. He had a Stomach ready prepar'd, and that never fail'd him at any time or place; inſomuch that as he was hearing Cauſes in the

Forum, built by *Auguſtus*, ſmelling the hot ſcent of a good Dinner that was preparing for the *Salian* Prieſts in the adjoyning Temple of *Mars*, he quitted his Tribunal, enter'd the Hall, and ſate down with the reſt of the Company. Nor was it his uſual Cuſtom to depart his Dining Room, but with Belly well ſtretch'd, and his Head well ſoak'd; inſomuch that as he lay upon his Back, and gaping in his ſleep, his Attendants frequently put a Feather down his Throat, to cauſe him to exonerate his Stomach. However he ſlept very little; for he generally wak'd before Midnight, and ſometimes he would take a Nap upon the Bench, as he was hearing Cauſes, ſo that the Advocates had much ado to make him open his Eyes, though they would fall a baulking on purpoſe. He was profuſely ſalacious in his Female Pleaſures, but as to the other Sex he never had any Inclination at all. He was immoderately addicted to Gaming, eſpecially to Dice, inſomuch that he ſet forth a Treatiſe in praiſe of that Recreation; and he would play as he travell'd upon the Road, his Chariot being ſo contriv'd as not to hinder his Sport.

34. That he was of a Cruel and Bloody Diſpoſition, appear'd upon many as well ſmall as great Occaſions. The Torments of the Rack and the Puniſhment of Parricides he haſten'd without the leaſt delay, and commanded the Executions in his own Preſence. Being earneſtly deſirous while he was at *Tibur*, to ſee an Execution after the *manner of the Ancients, and finding that when the Criminals were bound to the Stake, there was never an

** Which was perform'd by tying the Criminal with his Neck in a forked Stake, ſtark naked, and whipping him with Rods to Death.*

an Executioner to be had, he ſtayd with a great deal of Patience till the Evening, that an Executioner could be ſent for from *Rome*. At any Gladiatory Show, whether exhibited by himſelf or any other Perſon, if any of the Gladiators happen'd to fall down, whatever were the occaſion, he commanded him forthwith to be knock'd on the Head; eſpecially if he were one of the *Retiarii*, that he might obſerve their Countenances as they lay gaſping. At another time, when two *Gladiators* had mortally wounded each other, and fell down dead in the place, he order'd two Knives to be forthwith made of their Daggers for his own uſe. He took ſuch delight in beholding the Morning Combats of ſuch as were expos'd to the Wild Beaſts, and the Chaces in the Afternoon, that he would riſe by break of day to go to the Theater; and at Noon after he had ſent away the People to Dinner, ſtill keep his place till they came back. And in the mean time upon any ſlight occaſion he would ſet the Carpenters and Work-men together by the Ears, if he ſpy'd but the leaſt defect in any of the Scenes or moving Engins. Nay, for want of Diverſion, once he turn'd in one of his own * *Nomenclators*, to take his Fortune with a wild Beaſt, not ſuffering him to pull off his Gown for haſte.

* *They were Perſons that attended upon the Nobility to tell them the Names of ſuch Perſons whom they did not know, and of whom it was requiſite for them to take notice.*

35. But there was nothing wherein he more diſplay'd himſelf to be fix'd and conſtant, than in ſuſpition and diſtruſt. For from the firſt beginning of his Reign, notwithſtanding the great brags which he made of his Civility, yet he never durſt come to any great Feaſt, but with his Guard

of Lances, and waited upon by his Soldiers at the Table inſtead of other Attendants. Nor did he ever viſit any ſick Perſon, until the Chamber were firſt thoroughly ſearch'd, and the very Bolſters and Coverlets examin'd and ſhaken; and at other times he appointed Searchers to examin the Pockets and Cloaths of thoſe that came to ſalute him, who ſpar'd no body, and many times were very ſevere and rude in their Inquiſition. Nay it was but ſome years before his end that he could be prevail'd with to excuſe the Ladies, and the young Boys and Girls in their Gowns and long Coats from being ſearch'd and handl'd with no leſs undecency; or to permit any of his Counſellors or Secretaries to come near him, before their Steel Pens were taken from them. In the time of the Civil Commotions, *Camillus* not doubting but to ſcare him with the noiſe of a Civil War, ſent him a Letter full of contumelious Threatning and imperious Language, commanding him to ſurrender the Empire and retire to a private Life; which put him into ſuch a Conſternation, that he call'd his Friends about him to conſult whether he ſhould reſign or no.

36. He ſo dreaded the bare and idle reports of ſome Conſpiracies, that he was in a manner abſolutly reſolv'd upon a Reſignation of his Imperial Dignity. A certain Perſon being apprehended neer his Perſon, as he was going to Sacrifice, he preſently by a Publick Cryer ſummon'd an Aſſembly of the Senate, and with Tears in his Eyes and lamentable Out-cries bemoan'd his Condition, as one that knew not where to be ſecure from danger, and for a long time

time after kept himſelf cloſe, not daring to appear in publick. He alſo ſlacken'd his burning Affection to *Meſſalina*, not ſo much out of any reſentment of the daily Affronts which ſhe put upon him, as out of Fear that ſhe ſought the advancement of her Adulterer *Silius* to the Empire; at what time he fled after a moſt ſhameful and puſillanimous manner to the Camp, ſollicitouſly enquiſitive all the way, *Whether the Empire was his or no.*

37. There was no ſuſpition whatſoever, let the Cauſe be never ſo ſlight, no Informer ſo inconſiderable, but upon the leaſt ſuggeſtion buzz'd into his Ears, put him upon his Guard, and to ſecure himſelf by Murder and Revenge. A certain Perſon who had a Suit depending before him, coming to ſalute him, drew him aſide, and whiſper'd him a flim-flam Story in the Ear, how he had dreamt the Night before that he ſaw him Murder'd; and in a ſhort while after, ſeeing his Adverſary delivering him a Petition, he went again to the Emperor and told him, that ſuch a one was the Man he had ſeen in his Dream. Upon which the poor Innocent was apprehended and hal'd away to Execution without any more delay. In the ſame manner was *Appius Silanus* put to death; for that when *Meſſalina* and *Narciſſus* had Conſpir'd his deſtruction, they contriv'd it ſo that *Narciſſus* ſhould ruſh into his Chamber before, like a Man frighted out of his Wits, affirming he had dreamt that night, that *Appius* had made an attempt to murder him. At what time *Meſſalina* lying by his ſide, full of ſurprize and fear, call'd to mind a Dream that ſhe had likewiſe had but two or three nights before to the ſame

purpoſe. And not long after it was given out that *Appius* did break into the Chamber; to which purpoſe his Adverſaries, to confirm the Report, ſent the day before to him, that the Emperor would ſpeak with him immediately; thereupon *Appius* making all the haſte he could, bolted into the Chamber unexpected by *Claudius*; but then, as if the Dream had been by that accident made good, the Innocent Gentleman was immediately order'd to be impeach'd, condemn'd, and put to death. Nor did *Claudius* fail the next day to give an accompt of the whole Story to the Senate, and to return Thanks to his Enfranchiz'd Bondman, as to one that even in his ſleep wak'd for his ſecurity.

38. Being conſcious to himſelf how ſubject he was to Choler and Paſſion, he made his excuſe for both by a publick Edict; and promis'd, by way of diſtinction, *That the one ſhould be but ſhort and harmleſs, the other never without a Cauſe.* And therefore it was, that having ſeverely reprehended the Magiſtrates of *Oſtia*, for that they had not ſent forth their Barges to meet him, when they well knew that he was abroad upon the *Tiber*, as if they had done it out of ſpite, and in contempt of his Perſon, of a ſudden recollecting himſelf, he pardon'd them with ſo much Lenity, as if he himſelf had been ſatisfy'd with the occaſion of the omiſſion. Some that made their Addreſſes to him, and preſum'd to approach his Perſon in publick at unſeaſonable times, he thruſt back with his own hand. And at another time he ſent away unheard, though they had done nothing at that time to diſpleaſe him, a Quæſtors Accomptant, and

and a Senator, who had born the Office of the Prætorſhip, only becauſe the firſt had carry'd himſelf ſomewhat too ſawcily toward him when he was a private Perſon; the other, for that while he was Edile, he had Fin'd ſome of his Tenants for ſelling boil'd Meats contrary to the Law, and had order'd his Bayliff to be whipt for preſuming to juſtifie the Fact. And for that reaſon he depriv'd the Ediles for the future of their Juriſdiction over the Victualling-Houſes. Nor did he refrain from publiſhing his own Folly; as if it had been only diſſembl'd on purpoſe under *Caius*; and that if he had not done wiſely at that time, by carrying himſelf as a Fool, he could never have arriv'd to that Station wherein he was; and of this he makes his braggs in ſome little pitiful Orations of his own. But he could never perſwade the World to believe him, for that within a ſhort time after there came forth a Treatiſe, Entitled, μωρῶν ἀνάστασις, *The Reſurrection of Fools*, the Subject of which was, *That no Man Counterfeits Folly.*

39. Among other things all Men admir'd his want of Conſideration and Forgetfulneſs, or to expreſs it in *Greek*, ἀπονοίαν καὶ ἀβλεψίαν, that is to ſay, his want of common Intellects, as if he had been Thunderſtrook, and blindneſs of his Mind. For ſitting down to the Table, ſome few Hours after he had order'd *Meſſalina* to be put to death, he ask'd the Waiters, *Why his Miſtreſs did not come to Dinner?* And many of thoſe whom he had Condemn'd to loſe their Heads, he would ſend for the next day either to Dine, or play at Dice with him; and becauſe they did not come quickly, he would

ſend

ſend a Meſſenger to chide them for *Slug-a-beds*. Being ready to marry *Agrippina* contrary to Law, he would ſtill upon all occaſions, *Call her his Daughter and Nurſling, and one that was bred up and cheriſh'd in his own Boſom.* And when he was about to adopt *Nero* into his Family, as if it had not been a ſufficient blemiſh to his Reputation, to adopt his Son in Law when his own Son was at Age, he made this blind excuſe, *That never any of the* Nero's *had been adopted into the Family of the* Claudii *before.*

40. On the other ſide he was often ſo careleſs what he ſaid or what he did, that he never minded what or to whom he ſpoke, nor conſider'd either time or place. For upon ſome debate in the Senate concerning the Cheats of the Butchers, and ſuch as ſold Wine, he cry'd out in open Court, *And which of you, I would fain know, is there that can live without a good Morſel?* And then went on with a frivolous Story of the great number of Taverns in former times, from whence he was wont to have his Wine himſelf. And as an undenyable Argument, why he gave his Suffrage for a *Candidate* that ſtood for the *Quæſtorſhip*, he alleadg'd; *That his Father had given him cold Water once when he was ſick, by which he found a great deal of Eaſe.* Having introduc'd a Female Evidence into the Senate, *This*, ſaid he, *was my Mothers Enfranchis'd Slave, and Tyre-woman; but ſhe always own'd me for her Maſter; which I thought fit to tell ye, becauſe I have ſome Servants ſtill in my Houſe that ſcorn to acknowledge me.* Nay, as he ſate upon the Tribunal, being one day in a great heat againſt the Magiſtrates of *Oſtia*, who had Petition'd him for ſome Kindneſs or other,

he

he cry'd out, *That he knew no reaſon he had to oblige them; and that if any Man were at his Liberty to do what he pleas'd, he thought himſelf to be the Perſon.* Beſides that he had this Expreſſion in his Mouth almoſt every hour of the day, *What doſt take me for a* Telegennius, *a Changeling? Me that am lookt upon for a Man of ſo much Learning as I am?* Beſides many other ſuch like weak and ſilly Expreſſions, beneath the Diſcretion of a Private Perſon, much leſs of a Prince, who to ſpeak the Truth, neither wanted Eloquence nor Learning, beſides that he had been a diligent and hard Student in the Liberal Sciences.

41. When he was very young, being encouraged by *Titus Livius*, and aſſiſted by *Sulpitius Flavus*, he took upon him to write a Hiſtory. But when he brought it to be ſcan'd by the Judgment of a numerous Auditory, he tyr'd their Attention by his own Impertinent Interruptions. For he had no ſooner ſet himſelf to reading, but it happen'd, that ſome of the Benches being broken by the weight of a Corpulent Perſon that was there, ſet all the Company a laughing; nevertheleſs when the Tumult was over, and that all was huſht and quiet again, he could not refrain ever and anon in the midſt of his Rehearſal by renewing the Memory of the Accident, to give freſh occaſions of Interruption. During his Reign alſo he wrote very much, and maintain'd a Perſon on purpoſe to recite them in publick. He began his Hiſtory from the Murder of *Cæſar* the *Dictator*, but skipp'd from thence to later Times; and began again from the Civil Pacification, being ſenſible how dangerous a thing it was to write

write the Truth, and deliver his Mind freely in relating the Tranſactions preceding; for which he had been often rebuk'd by his Mother and Grand-mother, both jealous of the Memory of their Husbands. Of the firſt Part of his Hiſtory he left behind him two Volumes only; of the latter Part no leſs than One and forty. He alſo finiſh'd Eight Volumes concerning his own Life, fuller of Impertinence than want of Eloquence. He alſo undertook a Defence of *Cicero* againſt the Writings of *Aſinius Pollio*, learnedly enough. He alſo invented three new Letters, and added them to the reſt of the old ones, as deeming them very neceſſary. Concerning the reaſon of which, when he had ſet forth a Volume, while he was yet a private Perſon, it was no hard matter for him, when he came to be Emperor, to make them to be receiv'd in the vulgar Pronunciation. And that manner of Writing with his additional Characters is ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral Treatiſes, Journals, and Titles of Books.

42. Nor had he a leſs Veneration for the *Greek* Language, teſtifying upon all occaſions his great Eſteem of it, and extolling its Excellency. To a certain Forraigner that diſcours'd with him in *Greek* and *Latin*, he began his Complement, *Since you are ſkill'd in both our Languages.* And when he recommended *Achaia* to the Conſcript Fathers, he call'd it *a Province highly valu'd by him, by reaſon of the Intercourſe of their Common Studies.* And frequently he gave his Anſwers in the Senate to Embaſſadors in the ſame Language; though many times they happen'd to be long and continu'd Orations. And as he ſate upon the Tribunal, he would

would repeat ſeveral Verſes out of *Homer* upon ſeveral Occaſions. So that when ever he gave Sentence upon an Enemy or a Traitor, wherein his Revenge as well as his Juſtice ſhar'd, when the Tribune that was upon the Guard came to him for the Word, he ſeldom gave any other than this *Greek* Verſe out of *Homer's Odyſſes.*

Ανδρ' ἐπαμύνασθαι ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπαίνῃ.

On him that firſt aſſails, nere think it ſtrange.
By Natures Law, to wreck thy juſt Revenge.

He alſo compil'd two ſeveral Hiſtories in the *Greek* Tongue. The firſt Entitled Τυῤῥηνικῶν, of the *Tyrrhenian* Affairs in Twenty Volumes; and the ſecond under the Title of Καρχηδονιακῶν, or the Story of the *Carthaginians* in Eight Volumes. And for the ſake of thoſe Hiſtories, he erected a new *Muſæum*, which he added to the old one at *Alexandria*, and call'd it by his own Name; ordaining withal, that in the one his *Tyrrhenics*, in the other his *Karchedoniacs*, ſhould be rehears'd from the beginning to the end, in a full Auditory, upon ſuch and ſuch days appointed by Turns.

43. Toward the end of his Reign, he gave ſome Signs, and thoſe not difficultly to be obſerv'd, of his repenting his Marriage with *Agrippina*, and his Adopting of *Nero*. For that when his Enfranchiz'd Bond-man put him in mind of what he had done, and applauded his Juſtice in Condemning a Woman the day before Convicted of Adultery, he complain'd, *That it was his Misfortune to have been always fetter'd in the Bands of unchaſte Wedlocks, which there was no*

Superior

Superior above himſelf to puniſh. And another time meeting *Britanicus*, and embracing him faſt in his Arms, he admoniſh'd him to grow apace, and he would give him an Accompt of all the Actions of his Reign, adding farther theſe Words in *Greek* * ὁ ἐρως δ' ἐπιλήσεται. *But it was Love that over-rul'd me.* And deſigning to give him the Gown of Manhood, in regard his Stature exceeded the tenderneſs of his years, he added, *And at length let the People of* Rome *have a True* Cæſar.

* *Other Editions read it* ὃ τρώσας ϗ ἰάσεται. But he that wounds will heal. *A Proverb taken from the Oracle given to* Telephus.

44. Not long after he finiſh'd his laſt Will and Teſtament, and caus'd all the Magiſtrates to Seal it with their Signets. But before he could proceed any farther he was prevented by *Agrippina*, whom beſides what we have already mention'd, her own Conſcience, and daily Informers Convicted of many other hainous Crimes. It is agreed therefore by all, that he was made away by Poyſon, but where or by whom adminiſter'd is variouſly reported. Some ſay that it was given him by *Halotus* the Eunuch, his Taſter, as he was Feaſting in the Capitol with the Prieſts. Others will have it, that at a Banquet in his own Houſe, *Agrippina* knowing what a Lover he was of *Muſhromes*, preſented him with one more lovely than ordinary that was Poyſon'd. No leſs various are the Reports upon the following Circumſtances of his Death. For many ſay, that he grew ſpeechleſs immediately after he had ſwallow'd the Poyſon; and that lying in great Torture all the Night long, he dy'd the next Morning. Others affirm that he grew doaſie and fell aſleep at the beginning of the venomous Operation,

ſtion, and that his Meat riſing in his Stomach he ſtung up all that he had eaten; whereupon they redoubled his Doſe, but whether given him in a Jelly Broth, as being moſt proper to ſtrengthen his weak Stomach, or in a Clyſter, under pretence of diſburthening Nature that way, is uncertain.

45. His Death was kept very private, till all things were agreed upon for the aſcertaining the Succeſſion. And therefore Vows were publickly made for his recovery, as if he had been only ſick; and his Comœdians were ſent for, under pretence of giving him that Diverſion which he himſelf had call'd for, the better to carry on their Diſſimulation. He dy'd the 13*th.* of *October*, in the Conſulſhip of *Aſinius Marcellus*, and *Acilius Aviola*, in the Sixty fourth year of his Age, and the Fourteenth of his Reign. His Obſequies were ſolemniz'd with all the Funeral Magnificence befitting an Emperor, being afterwards tranſlated into the Number of the Gods. Which Humour being laid aſide and aboliſh'd upon *Nero*'s Account, was afterwards reviv'd again in Veneration to *Veſpaſian*'s Memory.

46. The moſt remarkable Prodigies that preceded his death were theſe; in the firſt place a Blazing Star, and the ſplicing of his Father *Druſus*'s Monument by a Thunder-bolt; and the Death of ſeveral Magiſtrates of all Orders and Degrees which happen'd that year. And there are ſeveral Arguments to prove that he was neither ignorant of his approaching End, or any way ſollicitous to diſſemble it. For in his deſigning and naming the Conſuls, he never appointed any to continue any longer than the

the Month wherein he dy'd. And the laſt time he was preſent in the Senate he took great pains in exhorting his two Sons to unity and Concord; and humbly recommended both their Ages to the Fathers. And the laſt time he heard Cauſes upon his Tribunal, he declar'd more than once or twice, *That he was come to the end of Mortality*, to the great Grief and Trouble of thoſe that heard him, and deteſted in their Wiſhes the fatal Accompliſhment of the Omen.

THE

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR

THE LIFE OF NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

Done into *Engliſh* by *J. P.* Gent.

1. FROM the *Domitian* Race two Illuſtrious Families deſcended; that of the *CALVINI*, and that other of the *ÆNOBARBI*. The *ÆNOBARBI* deriv'd their Original and Sirname from *L. Domitius*; to whom, it is reported, that as he was upon the Rode returning out of the Country, two young Men appear'd of more than human Form and Beauty, commanding him to carry the Tydings of a Victory, of which there was only an uncertain Rumour: And that to aſſure him of the truth of their Divinity, they gently ſtroak'd his Cheeks in ſuch a manner, that his Hair which before was Black, turn'd into a kind of gliſtning Red, reſembling the Colour of Copper. Which wonderful Mark was as it were entail'd upon his Poſterity; inſomuch that there were very few of that Family but ſuch as had red Beards. Therefore having

ving been Honour'd with ſeven Conſulſhips, two Triumphs and two Cenſorſhips, and choſen into the *Patrician Order*, they all retain'd the ſame Sirname; and never made uſe of any *Prænomens*, beſides *Cneus* and *Lucius*, wherein they obſerv'd a more than uſually remarkable variety: Sometimes continuing every one for three Perſons together; ſometimes altering them alternatively one after another. The firſt, ſecond, and third of the *Ænobarbi* were call'd *Lucii*; the next three that ſucceeded in Order were call'd *Cnei*; the reſt took the Names of *Lucius* and *Cneus* by Turns. And here I deem it not amiſs to give a ſhort accompt of ſeveral of the Family, to the end it may more eaſily appear how ſtrangely *Nero* degenerated from the Vertues of his Anceſtors, that indeed he ſeem'd to retain nothing but the Vices of every one, implanted and united all in him by a long ſeries of Procreation.

2. Therefore to trace his Pedigree from ſomething of diſtant Antiquity, his Great-Great-Grandfather *Cneus Domitius*, in his Tribuneſhip, having taken a diſguſt againſt the High Prieſts, becauſe they had choſen another over his head in the room of his Father, tranſferr'd the Right of admitting whom they pleas'd into their Colleges, to the People. And in his Conſulſhip having vanquiſh'd the *Allobroges*, and *Arvernians*, he rode through the Province mounted upon an Elephant, attended by a great multitude of Soldiers, as if it had been at a ſolemn Triumph. Upon him it was, that *Licinius*, or rather *L. Craſſus*, the Famous Orator, utter'd that ſame noted Sarcaſme, *That it was no wonder he had a* Copper Beard, *who had*

had a Mouth of Iron and a Heart of Lead. His Son being *Prætor*, cited *C. Cæſar*, ſo ſoon as he was out of his Conſulſhip, which he was deem'd to have held contrary to the Laws, and contrary to the Directions of the Soothſayers that gainſaid it, to anſwer his Contempt before the Senate. Soon after he was made Conſul himſelf, and then he made it his chief buſineſs to have *Cæſar* recall'd out of *Gallia*, where he was General of the Army, and being nam'd his Succeſſor by the Faction then prevailing, at the beginning of the Civil War he was taken Priſoner at *Corfinium*. Being ſet at Liberty, he came to *Marſeilles*, then cloſely beſieg'd, and much encourag'd the Garriſon by his Preſence; but of a ſudden ſlipping out of the Town, was at length ſlain at the Battel of *Pharſalia*. A Perſon never conſtant in his Reſolutions, but of a fierce and fiery Temper. Being reduc'd to Deſpair in the Extremity of his Affairs, he ſo dreaded that Death which in his Fears he had ſo much wiſh'd for; that having taken a Doſe of Poyſon he threw it up again, and Enfranchiz'd his Phyſician, becauſe he had ſo temper'd the Poyſon, out of his Prudence and Skill, as to do him little harm. And when *Pompey* debated what to do with thoſe that ſtood neuter and adher'd to neither ſide, he was the only Perſon that adviſ'd him to uſe them as Enemies.

3. He left a Son behind him, a Man without all queſtion to be preferr'd before all the reſt of his Race. He being accus'd to have been engag'd in the Conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar*, and Condemn'd by the * *Pedian* Law, though he were altogether Innocent, betook himſelf to

* *That is to ſay, being interdicted from Fire and Water.*

Brutus and *Caſſius* that were his very neer Kindred; and when they were both ſlain, yet he retain'd the Command of the Navy which was committed to his charge; and increas'd the number of his Ships in deſpite of all his diſaſters, till at laſt the whole Party being irrecoverably ruin'd, he at length reſign'd it to *Antonius* of his own accord, who lookt upon it as an extraordinary Obligation; and being the only Perſon of all thoſe that were Condemn'd by the ſame Law, was at laſt reſtor'd to his Native Country, and ran through all the moſt Conſiderable Employments in the Commonwealth. Afterwards, when the Civil Broils brake out again, *Antonius* made him one of his Legates; at what time he ſo won the Affection of the Army, and moſt Powerful Men of that Party, whom *Antony* had diſguſted through his Laſcivious Dalliances with *Cleopatra*, that they offer'd him the Supream Command which then *Antonius* had; which he not daring to accept or refuſe, by reaſon of an unexpected Fit of ſickneſs, retir'd to *Auguſtus*, and within a few days after dy'd; not without an Aſperſion caſt upon him by *Antonius*, as if he had only deſerted his Party, as not being able to endure the abſence of his Miſtreſs *Servillia Naia*.

4. This Man was the Father of *Domitius*, who was known afterwards to be the Purchaſer of the Goods and Chattels left by *Auguſtus* in his Will; no leſs Famous in his Youth for his Skill in Chariot-driving, then for the Honour of Triumphal Ornaments which he acquir'd in the *German* War. But he was Arrogant, Profuſe and Cruel withal; ſo that when he was but *Edile*, he compell'd the Cenſor *L. Plancus*

Plancus to give him the way; and during the time that he was Prætor and Conſul, he introduc'd ſeveral *Roman* Knights and Matrons at vaſt Charges, to act their Parts upon the publick Stage, to ſhew what a Command he had in the City; and he exhibited Chaces of Wild Beaſts, not only in the *Circus*, but in all the Quarters and Wards of the City; as alſo a Gladiatory Show, but with ſo much Cruelty, that *Auguſtus* after he had privately admoniſh'd him to no purpoſe, was forc'd to reſtrain him by a Publick Edict.

5. By *Antonia* the Elder he had the Father of *Nero*, in every part of his Life deteſtable. For this was he, who when he was a young Man, accompanying *C. Cæſar* into the *Eaſt*, ſlew his enfranchiz'd Bondman, becauſe he refus'd to drink ſo much as he commanded him; and therefore being diſmiſs'd by his Friends out of their Company, he found out others with whom he liv'd a Life no leſs Extravagant and Enormous than before. Inſomuch that in a Village upon the *Appian* Road he drove his Chariot over a poor Child and kill'd him; and in the middle of the *Forum* thruſt out the Eye of a *Roman* Knight for reproving him, as he thought, too ſawcily. And ſo perfidious he was, that he would often defraud the Goldſmiths of the Goods which they had bought upon his Credit at the Auctions; and many times during his Prætorſhip cheated the Chariot-drivers of the Prizes they had won. For which things being jeer'd and laught at by his Sifter, upon the Complaints of the Maſters of the *Vermillion Coats* and *Green Coats*, which were the two ſides that ran one againſt another, he made a

Law, that the Prizes or Prize Money ſhould for the future be preſently paid down. Toward the latter end of *Tiberius*'s Reign, he was accus'd of Treaſon, Adultery, and Inceſt with his Siſter *Lepida*, but eſcaping Condemnation upon the alteration of the Times, he dy'd at * *Pyrgi* of a Dropſie, leaving behind him *Nero*, his Son by *Agrippina* the Daughter of *Germanicus*.

* Now St^a. Marinella.

6. *Nero* was born at *Antium*, nine Months after the death of *Tiberius*, upon the Fifteenth day of *December*, ſo exactly at the riſing of the Sun, that it was ſaid the Morning Beams glimps'd upon Him, before they ſhed themſelves upon the Earth. There were ſeveral Perſons that made many and dreadful Conjectures upon his Nativity; but the Expreſſion of his Father *Domitius* was a Prediction that ſurpaſs'd all the reſt; who when his Friends came to congratulate him upon the Birth of his Son, affirm'd, *That there could nothing proceed from him and* Agrippina, *but what was deteſtable, and would prove pernicious to the Commonwealth.* Nor was the future Calamity of his Reign portended by any more remarkable Omen, than that which fell out upon the day of his Purification. At what time *C. Cæſar*, being requeſted by his Siſter, what Name he would be pleas'd to give the Infant, fixing his Eyes upon his Uncle *Claudius*, by whom *Nero* was afterwards adopted; *Give him his Name*, ſaid he. Nor did he ſpeak that ſeriouſly, but in Deriſion, and to the great diſtaſte of *Agrippina*, well knowing *Claudius* at that time to be no more than the Sport of the whole Court. By that he came to be three Months old he loſt his Father, who left him his Heir

Heir of no more than a third Part of his Eſtate; nor did that come all entire into his hands, the whole Eſtate being ſeiz'd upon by his Co-heir *Caius*, and his Mother afterwards baniſh'd. So that being almoſt reduc'd to Want and Poverty, he was reliev'd and brought up by his Aunt *Lepida*, under two Tutors, a Dancing Maſter and a Barber. But ſo ſoon as *Claudius* came to the Empire, he was not only reſtor'd to his Father's Eſtate, but enrich'd with the Inheritance of the Eſtate of his Father-in-Law *Criſpus Poſſienus*. And by the Favour of his Mother recall'd out of Baniſhment, and paſſionately belov'd by the Emperor, he became ſo Conſiderable, that there was a report which went currant among the Common People, that certain Aſſaſſinates were ſent by *Meſſalina*, then *Claudius*'s Wife, to ſtrangle him as he lay taking his Afternoons Nap, as one that was thought to ſet himſelf up in Competition with *Britannicus*. And there was alſo this farther Addition to the Story, that the ſame Aſſaſſinates, being frighted by a Dragon crawling from under the Pillow, betook themſelves to their Heels. Which Fable was grounded upon this, that the Spoils of a Serpent were afterwards found in his Bed wrapt about his Bolſter, which for ſome time after that he wore, by his Mothers order, in a Bracelet of Gold upon his Right Arm; which at length he laid aſide, in abhorrence of his Mothers Memory, but afterwards in the extremity of his Affairs, ſought for again in vain, when they were paſt recovery.

7. Being as yet but very young and hardly paſt the years of his Childhood, he was a conſtant

ſtant Performer of the *Trojan* Exerciſes in the *Circenſian* Games, not without the Applauſe of the People. In the * Eleventh year of his Age he was adopted by *Claudius*, and deliver'd to the Tutelage of *Annæus Seneca*, then a Senator; upon which there ran a report, as if *Seneca* ſhould dream the next Night that he was teaching *C. Cæſar*. Which Dream in a ſhort time *Nero* fulfill'd, diſcovering the Inhumanity of his Nature by the firſt Experiments which he was able to give. For he endeavour'd to perſwade his Father that *Britannicus* was a Baſtard, taking it in great Indignation, that after his Adoption, his Brother ſhould ſalute him by the Name of *Ænobarbus*, as he was wont to do. Alſo he appear'd in open Court as an Evidence againſt his Aunt *Lepida*, to gratifie his Mother, who proſecuted her with great ſeverity. Being admitted to exerciſe his Parts in the *Forum*, he promiſs'd a Largeſs to the People, and a Donative to the Soldiers. And having Proclaim'd a Solemn Turnament to gratifie the *Prætorians*, he rode before them to the Barriers with a Target upon his Arm; which done, he return'd his moſt humble Thanks to his Father in the Senate, for all his Favours. Moreover when he was made Conſul, he pleaded before the Emperor for the *Bononians* in *Latin*, and for the *Rhodians* and *Ilienſes* in *Greek*. He began to exerciſe his Jurisdiction as Governour of the City, in the *Latin* Holy-days, at what time the moſt Celebrated Lawyers brought before him, not ſhort and eaſie Cauſes, remov'd out of other Courts on purpoſe, but ſuch as were of great Moment, and no leſs difficult to determin, contrary to the expreſs Command of *Claudius*.

* *But the Twelfth or Thirteenth according to Tacitus.*

Not

Not long after he marry'd his Wife *Octavia*, and exhibited *Circenſian* Games, and ſeveral Chaces of wild Beaſts for the Safety and Proſperity of *Claudius*.

8. Being now Seventeen years of Age, ſo ſoon as the Death of *Claudius* was made Publick, between the Sixth and Seventh Hour, he made his appearance among the Guards (for ſuch were the dire Prognoſtick's that ſhew'd themſelves all the reſt of the day, that he durſt not Enterprize ſo great and doubtful an Attempt till more Auſpicious Signs appear'd) but then all things fell out ſo luckily, that he was ſaluted Emperor before the Steps aſcending to his Palace; and from thence carry'd in a Litter to the Camp, where the Soldiers being haſtily ſummon'd together, after a ſhort Speech, he hurry'd away to the Senate, and ſtaid there till the Evening; and of all thoſe vaſt Honours and Titles which were heap'd upon him, refuſing none but that of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, which he only did in Modeſty by reaſon of his Age.

9. Thus aſcending the Emperial Throne, and beginning with a pretended Oſtentation of Piety, he made a moſt Magnificent Funeral for *Claudius*, ſpoke his Praiſes in an Oration by * himſelf compil'd, and Honour'd him with Celeſtial Conſecration beſides. Nor did he forget to Eternize his Fathers Memory with multiply'd Honours. And to his Mother he left the ſole Management of all publick and private Affairs. So that upon the firſt day of his aſſuming the Empire, when the Tribune that was upon the Guard came to him for the *Word*, he gave him *Optima Mater*, or his *Beſt Mother*;

* *Or as others ſay by his Maſter* Seneca.

Mother; and after that, was many times ſeen to ride publickly with her in the ſame Litter. He ſent a Colony to *Antium*; to which purpoſe he cull'd out all the Veterane Soldiers of his Guards, and order'd the moſt wealthy of the Centurions to remove their Habitations and go along with them; and for their farther convenience made them a Harbour at a prodigious Expence.

10. And to give yet farther and more aſſured Teſtimonies of his Inclinations, he made a ſolemn Proteſtation, *To Govern according to the Model of* Auguſtus, omitting no occaſion or opportunity to ſhew his Liberality, his Clemency and his Affability. Taxes that lay heavy upon the People he either quite aboliſh'd, or reduc'd them to a Moderate Aſſeſsment. He reduc'd the Rewards due to Informers upon the *Papian* Law to a fourth Part. Among the People he diſtributed a Dole of 400 Seſterces a Man; and to ſuch of the Senators who were Nobly deſcended, but yet were Poor, he allow'd annual Penſions; which to ſome that he more particularly favour'd, he advanc'd to the value of Twelve thouſand five hunder'd Crowns a year; beſides a Monthly Benevolence of Corn to the *Prætorian* Bands. And being deſir'd to Subſcribe a Warrant for the Execution of a Condemn'd Perſon, *What would I give*, ſaid he, *that I had never learnt to write or read!* His Memory was ſuch, that he would ſalute all the Members of the ſeveral Orders of the City by their Names. And when the Senate return'd him Thanks for his Excellent Adminiſtration of the Government, he made Anſwer, *Let me firſt deſerve it.* He admitted the Com-

Common People to his Exerciſes in the Field; he Declaim'd frequently in Publick; and he rehears'd Verſes of his own making, not only in private at home, but in the open Theater, with ſo much Univerſal Applauſe and Congratulation, that upon one of his Rehearſals, there was a Solemn Thankſgiving to the Gods Decreed, and a farther Edict, that Part of the Verſes ſhould be Conſecrated in Letters of Gold to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

11. Many were the Shows and Plays, which he preſented for the Recreation of the People, and of various ſorts; as *Juvenal* Paſtimes and *Circenſian* Games; *Stage-Plays*, and *Gladiatory* Combats. To his *Juvenal* Sports he invited all the Old Men of Conſular Degree, together with the Ancient Ladies and Matrons. In the *Circenſian* Games he appointed Seats for the *Roman* Gentry, where they might ſit private and apart from the Multitude. In the Plays, which becauſe they were Inſtituted for the Eternity of the Empire, he would have to be call'd *Maximi*, there were ſeveral Perſons of both Orders, *Senatorian* and *Equeſtrian*, and of both Sexes that Acted their Parts. Among the reſt there was a moſt noted *Roman* Knight that rode upon an Elephant ſwiftly walking upon a long Cable, like a Rope-dancer, in the Place where thoſe Activities us'd to be ſhown. There was alſo Acted a *Comœdy* diſplaying the Humours of the *Romans*, Written by *Afranius*, and call'd the *Conflagration*, in which the Actors were permitted to rifle the Houſe as it was burning, and to carry away what Houſhold-ſtuff they pleas'd. And all the while theſe Paſtimes continu'd, Thouſands alſo of Tickets were

were daily flung about among the People, for a thousand several sorts of Presents; as Birds of all sorts, Corn, Garments, Gold, Silver, Jewels, Pearls, Pictures, Slaves, Horses, and other tame Beasts; and lastly in some Tickets were included, Ships, Houses, and whole Fields of Land.

12. These Plays he beheld from a Box that was built just before the Stage. At the Gladiatory Combat which he presented in the Woodden Amphitheater, which he Erected within less than a year, he would not suffer any Man to be kill'd, not so much as those that were Condemn'd. He perswaded into the Lists Forty Senators and Fifty *Roman* Knights to fight at Sharpes; and others of both Orders of good Reputations and Estates, to fight with wild Beasts, and to other Drudgeries of the Common Pit. Which as it satisfy'd his Ostentation, was no less pleasing to those that lookt upon it as an obligation to their Prince. He also exhibited the Representation of a Sea-fight upon the salt Water, fill'd the while with Sea Monsters rowling up and down. But the more quaint sort he delighted with his *Pyrrhick Dances*, perform'd by a number of young Gentlemen sent for from beyond Sea; upon whom after they had done, he bestow'd the Freedom of the City, and gave them the Patents for Confirmation of their Privileges under his Hand and Seal. In one of these *Pyrrhick* Masques it was so contriv'd that a Bull should leap *Pasiphae* enclos'd in a Woodden *Machine*, representing the shape of a Cow; so naturally done, that many of the Spectators believ'd it to be real. In the Representation of *Icarus*, the Actor that Personated

Perſonated him, upon his firſt Attempt to flye, unfortunately fell down juſt by the Emperors Couch, and beſprinkl'd him with his Blood. For he was wont very ſeldom to preſide at theſe kind of Sports, but as he lay upon his Couch he beheld them for the moſt part looking through little Lattices; though many times he would order the Windows to be flung open the whole breadth of the Gallery and ſhew himſelf in full view. Moreover he was the firſt that ever Inſtituted the Tryals of Skill once in Five years, after the manner of the *Greeks*, and where the Conteſts for the Prizes were the ſame in Muſick, Wreſtling and Racing; which he call'd by the Name of *Neroniana*. In order to which, having dedicated his *Baths*, and a Place peculiar for his Exerciſes, he allow'd a certain quantity of Oil, *gratis*, for the uſe of the Senators and Gentlemen. He alſo appointed Conſular Magiſtrates to preſide by Lot as Judges of the Conteſts, and thoſe to ſit in the *Prætors* Seats. Then he deſcended into the *Orcheſtra* among the Senators, where the Garland that was prepar'd for the Reward of the Perſon that had obtain'd the Victory, either in *Latin* Proſe or Verſe, for which the moſt Eminent Perſons in the City contended, being by their conſent adjudg'd to himſelf, he was pleas'd to accept it. But as for the Harp that was brought to him by the Judges, he ador'd it, and order'd it to be carry'd to the Statue of *Auguſtus*. Upon the day that he expos'd the *Gymnick* Sights, between the Preparations for Sacrificing the Ox, he ſhav'd his Beard the firſt time, and put the Hair into a Box of pure Gold enchas'd with Precious Stones, and Conſecrated

ſecrated it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He alſo invited the Veſtal Virgins to ſee his Wreſtlers; in imitation of the *Greeks* who permitted the Prieſteſſes of *Ceres* to behold thoſe Paſtimes at *Olympia*.

13. Nor will it be amiſs among the reſt of his Shows, to relate the Entry which *Tiridates* made into the City. Him, as being King of *Armenia*, after he had invited with large Promiſes to *Rome*, he deſign'd to ſhew to the People; but the day, by publick Proclamation appointed for his Reception, being put off by reaſon of the mizling Weather, upon the firſt fair Weather he produc'd him. To which purpoſe, having plac'd his Armed Cohorts about the Temples adjoyning to the *Forum*, he ſeated himſelf, Adorn'd with his Triumphal Robes, upon a Throne of Ivory in the midſt of his Military Enſigns and Banners; and firſt as the King paſs'd under the Declivity of the Scaffold, he admitted him to fall at his Knees; but immediately rais'd him up with his Right Hand and kiſs'd him. Then taking off the *Tiara* from the ſubmiſſive Prince's Head, he ſet the Regal Diadem in its place, a Perſon of *Prætorian* Degree, both Interpreter and Cryer, pronouncing aloud to the ſurrounding Multitude the Words of the Suppliant King. Thence conducting him into the Theater, where the King again renew'd his ſubmiſſive Ceremonies, he plac'd him at his right Hand. For which being ſaluted Emperor, after he had ſent his Laurel-wreath to the *Capitol*, he ſhut up the Temple of *Janus*, in Token that there was neither any War in agitation, nor any Remainder of War to diſturb the Univerſal Tranquility of the Empire.

14. He

14. He held four Conſulſhips; the firſt for two Months; the ſecond and laſt for ſix Months; and the third for four Months. The two middlemoſt he held ſucceſſively one after the other; the other two, ſome years diſtance intervening.

15. In the ordinary Adminiſtration of Juſtice he rarely gave any Anſwer to the Motions of Petitions of Advocates till the next day, and that in writing. In hearing of Cauſes he obſerv'd this Method, to continue the Cauſes in the ſame order they were brought into Court, and ſo to diſpatch them in their Turns. But as often as he retir'd to deliberate, he never debated the Matter with others, but after he had privately read the Opinions of all the Judges deliver'd him in writing, he pronounc'd Sentence according to his own Fancy, as if it had been according to the Judgment of all the reſt. It was a long time before he could be perſwaded to admit the Sons of Perſons not born free into the Senate, and to thoſe that had been admitted by his Predeceſſors he refus'd all Employments of Honour. All ſupernumerary *Candidates*, to the end they might the more patiently brook the delay of their Preferment, he advanc'd to Commands in the Legions. And for the Conſulſhip, he conferr'd it generally for ſix Months; but if either of the Conſuls died before the Calends of *January*, he never ſubſtituted another in his room; exploding the Preſident of *Caninius Rebilus*, a Conſul for one day. The Triumphal Ornaments, and thoſe of the *Queſtorian* Dignity, he vouchſaf'd alſo to ſome of the *Equeſtrian Order*, though they never had deſerv'd them by any remarkable Atchievement in the

Wars. The Accounts of certain Affairs which he ſent to the Senate, he order'd the Conſuls to communicate and open to the Court, taking no notice of the Quæſtors, whoſe particular Office it was to do it.

16. After the burning of the City, he invented a new Form of building the Houſes, contriving it ſo, that there ſhould be Porticos or ſmall Gate-houſes, built at a ſmall diſtance before every Houſe or * Iſland, upon the Battlements of which they might ſtand to keep off the Fire from the reſt of the Building: And thoſe he † built at his own Charges. He had a deſign to have extended the Walls of the City as far as *Oſtia*, and to have brought the Sea by means of a Canal to the old City. And indeed many things were ſeverely reform'd in his time, many things reſtrain'd, and many newly Inſtituted with no leſs reſpect to the publick Good. He limited the exceſſive Luxury of Habit and Entertainments. Publick Suppers were reduc'd to a Proportionable diſtribution to the Gueſts in little Baskets. And there was a Proclamation ſet forth, prohibiting all Victuallers to boyl any other Meat, except Pulſe and Herbs; whereas before there was no ſort of Meat but might be had at the Cooks Shop. The CHRISTIANS were ſeverely puniſh'd, as a ſort of Men addicted to a new and miſchievous ſort of Superſtition. He alſo ſuppreſs'd the Sports of the Charioteers with four Horſes, who by long Cuſtom were become ſo Licentious, as to take upon them a kind of Right to loiter about, and cheat and pilfer whatever they could lay their hands on, as

* *For in regard the Houſes were not built Contiguous, the Space of Ground upon which every Houſe was built was call'd an Iſland.*

† Tacitus *ſays he Promis'd indeed to build them, but never fulfill'd his Word.*

as it were in jeſt. And finding the Buffoons and Pantomimes divided into diſtinct Parties and Companies, he baniſh'd them all together.

17. To prevent the Forging of Deeds, he order'd that no Inſtruments ſhould be Sign'd or Seal'd until the Tables were boar'd thorough, and a String drawn three times through the hole. It was farther Enacted, that in all the Wills and Teſtaments, the firſt two Tables of Wax ſhould be Blank, without any Writing, but only that of the Names of the Teſtators; and that no Perſon drawing a Will ſhould preſume to put himſelf in for a Legacy. Moreover he ordain'd that the Clyents ſhould pay no more than ſuch a certain Fee to the Advocates; but nothing at all for their Seats and Benches in the Court, for which there ſhould be an Allowance out of the Treaſury. And that ſuch Cauſes as lay before the Officers of the Treaſury, ſhould be remov'd to the *Forum* or Common Pleas, to be try'd before the * *Recoverers*; and that there ſhould be no Appeals from the Judges, but to the Senate.

* *So call'd, becauſe they were ſet up to hear the Debates upon forfeited Goods or Eſtates, where the Perſon who thought himſelf wrong'd might ſue for the Recovery of his Eſtate.*

18. As he had never any deſign or hopes to enlarge or propagate the Bounds of the Empire, he had ſome thoughts of withdrawing his Army out of *Britain*; nor was it any other Conſideration which made him deſiſt, but only meer ſhame to Eclipſe the Glory which his Father had won in thoſe Parts. Only the Kingdom of *Pontus* upon the ſurrender of *Polemo*, and that of the *Alps* by the death of *Cottius*, he reduc'd into Provinces.

19. He never undertook but two Progreſſes, the one to *Alexandria*, and the other into *Achaia*; but upon the very day that he intended to have ſet forward, he ſtopp'd his Voyage for *Alexandria*, ſcar'd by ſome Religious Omen, or rather terrify'd by the danger of the Seas. For in a Proceſſion from Temple to Temple, when he came to reſt himſelf in the Temple of *Veſta*, the Skirt of his Garment ſtuck to the Seat as he was going to riſe; and immediately upon that he had ſuch a Miſt before his Eyes, that he could hardly ſee. When he arriv'd in *Achaia*, being eagerly bent to make a Cut quite through the *Iſthmus*, he made a Speech to the *Prætorian* Guards to encourage them to begin the Work; and after he had given the Signal by the ſound of a Trumpet, he was the firſt that began to digg, and after he had fill'd a Basket full of Earth, carry'd it away upon his own Shoulders. He alſo made great Preparations for an Expedition to the * *Caſpian Streights*, after he had Liſted a new Legion of *Italian* Youths, all ſix Foot high, which he call'd the *Phalanx* of *Alexander* the *Great*. All theſe things he perform'd, partly without encurring much of Cenſure, partly Extoll'd and Applauded for what he did; which I therefore ſeperate from his wicked and abominable Actions, of which I am now to give an Accompt.

* *Now by ſome call'd* Les Portes de Teflis.

20. Among the reſt of thoſe Accompliſhments, with which his Tutors thought it requiſite to embelliſh his Education, Muſick was one of the Principal Sciences which they taught him; ſo that as ſoon as he had obtain'd the Empire, he ſent for *Terpnus*, a Harper, then the moſt eſteem'd and famous for his Art above

bove any of thoſe Times; and took ſuch delight in his Hand, that he would ſit up from after Supper till paſt Midnight, for ſeveral Nights one after another, to hear him Play: ſo that at length his Affection to that Science ſo charm'd him, that he ſet himſelf moſt induſtriouſly to learn the perfection of that Science, condeſcending to all the ſtrict obſervations of Rules and aſſiduity of Practice that perfect a Hand, or conduc'd to the preſervation and ſtrengthening his Voice. To which purpoſe he would ſometimes lye upon his Back with a Plate of Lead upon his Stomach; purge himſelf with Vomits and Clyſters, and abſtain from Apples and all manner of Dyet that was hurtful to the Voice; till at length flattering himſelf with his Proficiency (though he had neither a clear nor a ſtrong Pipe) nothing would ſerve him but he would ſhew his Parts upon the Stage, frequently alleaging the *Greek* Proverb among his familiar Friends and Favourites, *That Muſick when conceal'd never wins Reputation.* The firſt time that he diſplay'd his Gifts in this Nature, was at *Naples*, where though the Theater began to rock of a ſudden with the violence of an Earthquake, he would not give over, till he had ſung out a whole Song in the *Mood* which he had begun. There he ſung very often, and for ſeveral days together; only now and then reſting a while to recover his Voice, and growing impatient of Retirement, he made haſte from Bathing to the Theater, where he would often dine in the midſt of the Muſick Room, with all the People ſtaring about him; at what time he would promiſe them, *That as ſoon as he had waſh'd his Throat,*

he ſhould be able to ſing both louder and deeper. And being extreamly pleas'd with certain Songs which the *Alexandrian* Muſitians, being arriv'd at *Naples* upon leave given them, had compos'd in his Praiſe, he ſent for more of the ſame Gang from the ſame Place. Nevertheleſs he was no leſs diligent to Muſter together ſeveral young Gentlemen of the *Equeſtrian* Order, and Five thouſand of the ſtouteſt young Fellows that he could pick out among the Rabble, who being divided into Parties, were to learn the three ſorts of Applauſes (which they call'd by Names of *Bombi*, or the *Hum. Imbrices*, which was a noiſe like the rattling of the Rain upon the Tiles; and *Teſtas*, which was in imitation of the clapping of two Tiles together) and to be ſure to do their Duty upon all Occaſions. And ſome of theſe that were of the beſt Quality, remarkable for their thick Heads of Hair, their Rich Attire, and their Gems ſparkling upon their left Hands, attended him all the while he was ſinging, being fully inſtructed in the ſeveral ſorts of Acclamation, for which their Tutors had Stipends allow'd them of Four hunder'd thouſand Seſterces apiece.

21. And being thus tranſported with his ſinging, he renew'd at *Rome* his *Neronian* Tryals of Skill. At what time, when all the People cry'd out in Frantick Flattery to hear his *Celeſtial Voice*, he made anſwer, *That ſince they would have it ſo, they ſhould hear him to their ſatisfaction in the Publick Gardens.* But then the Soldiers that were upon the Guard ſeconding the Importunity of the People, he promis'd to gratifie their Deſires without any more to do. And immediately

immmediately caus'd his Name to be entred into the Roll of the Muſick Profeſſors; and ſo putting in his Lot among the reſt of the Harpers into the Common Urn, enter'd upon the Stage according to his Turn, the Captains of his *Prætorian* Guard carrying his Harp after him; attended alſo by the Tribunes of the Army and his moſt intimate Favourites. And ſo ſitting down, as ſoon as the Prologue was ſpoken, he made Proclamation by *Clurius Rufus*, one that had been Conſul, that he intended to ſing the Story of *Niobe*, which he perform'd accordingly, and held it out till the tenth Hour of the day; but put off his receiving the Garland and the diſtribution of the Prizes till the next year, that he might have more frequent Occaſions to ſhew his Skill. But becauſe that diſtance of time ſeem'd ſomewhat too long, he forbore not to find other Opportunities to make himſelf publick. Nor did he ſcruple at private Spectacles to Act his Part among the Common Players, and to accept of a Preſent of a Million of *Seſterces* from one of the *Prætors*. He alſo ſang ſeveral Tragedies in diſguiſe, the Vizors and Masks of the Hero's and Gods, as alſo of the Heroeſſes and Goddeſſes, being ſo ſhap'd as to repreſent his own Countenance, or the Ladies for whom he had moſt Affection. Among other things, he ſang *Canace in travail*; Oreſtes *killing his Mother*; Oedipus *ſtrook blind*; and Hercules *raging Mad*. At what time it is reported that a young Soldier, being plac'd Sentinel at the Door, ſeeing him dreſt up and bound, as the Subject of the Play requir'd, ran in to his Aſſiſtance, as if the thing had been done in good earneſt.

22. From his Infancy he was a paſſionate Admirer of Horſes; and the chiefeſt of his Diſcourſe, though it were forbidden him, was about the *Circenſian* Games. And once upon a time, bemoaning among his School-fellows the Diſaſter of one of the *Green-Coat* Charioteers, who falling from his Seat was dragg'd about the *Circus*, for which he was rebuk'd by his Tutor, he pretended that he ſpoke of *Hector* dragg'd about the *Trojan* Walls. But when at the beginning of his Reign, he was wont to entertain himſelf by ſporting with Ivory Chariots upon a Board, there was nothing how trivial ſoever to be ſeen in the *Circus*, but he would leave his Recreation, and run thither from his Retirements; at firſt *Incognito*; but afterwards ſo publickly, that every body expected him, as knowing he would not fail to be there. Nor did he diſſemble his Reſolution to enlarge the number of Palms or Prizes; to which purpoſe, the number of Careers being multiply'd, the Show laſted many times till late in the Evening; it being come to that paſs, that the Maſters of the Parties at length would not bring out their Horſes, unleſs they might be ſecur'd to run all day long. Soon after he himſelf would undertake to drive the Chariots out of an Ambition to be ſeen by the People; and after he had practis'd his firſt Rudiments in the Gardens among the Slaves and Inferior Rabble, he then expos'd himſelf to the ſight of all the People in the great *Circus*; ſome one of his Enfranchis'd Bond-men giving him the Signal of the Start, from the place where the Magiſtrates were wont formerly to do it. And not content to have given theſe Experiments of his Parts

Parts at *Rome*; he muſt needs, as we have ſaid, take a Voyage into *Achaia*, chiefly mov'd thereto, for that the Cities, where there were uſually any remarkable Tryals of Skill in Muſick, had made a Decree to ſend to him all the Prizes of the Muſicians. Which he took ſo kindly at their hands, that he not only admitted the Commiſſioners that brought them, before he gave Audience to any other Embaſſadors, but feaſted them at his moſt familiar Entertainments. One of theſe Commiſſioners humbly deſiring him, that he would be pleas'd to give them a Song at Supper, and being thereupon extoll'd with a more than ordinary Applauſe, he cry'd out, *That the Greeks were the only Perſons that underſtood Muſick*, and only worthy of him and his Art. And upon that haſtening his Journey forthwith, he croſs'd the Sea to * *Caſſiope*, and preſently began to tune his Pipes at the Altar of *Jupiter Caſſius*.

* *Now* Joannina.

23. After this he put in at all Tryals of Skill, whatever they were. To which purpoſe, he brought together within the Compaſs of one year all the Exerciſes of various times and ſeaſons; and at *Olympia*, contrary to Cuſtom, he ſet up a Muſical Conteſt in the midſt of the *Olympick* Games. And that nothing might divert him when he was buſily employ'd about theſe things, when *Helius* his Enfranchiz'd Bond-man wrote him word, *That his Preſence was much wanting in the City*, he return'd him this Anſwer, *Though it be thy Advice and thy Deſire, that I ſhould ſpeedily return, yet oughteſt thou rather to wiſh and deſire, that* Nero *may return worthy of himſelf*. When he was ſinging, it was not lawful for any Man to depart the Theater,

Theater, unleſs the occaſion were ſuch as could not poſſibly be avoided. So that ſome Women are ſaid to have been deliver'd upon the ſpot; and many ſo tyr'd with hearing, and the frequent Formalities of humming and clapping, that the Gates of the Town being ſhut all the while, they would either privately leap over the Wall, or fain themſelves dead, that they might be carry'd off to their Lodgings. Moreover it is almoſt paſt belief, in what a ſtrange Fear and Anxiety he was in, all the while the Conteſt laſted; with what Emulation of his Antagoniſts, and dread of his Judges he continually perplex'd his Thoughts. For as if his Competitors had been all of equal Quality and Condition, he had always his Eye upon them, Courted and Extoll'd them in publick, Defam'd and Traduc'd them behind their backs, and many times as occaſion offer'd, inveigh'd againſt them with ſcurrilous and reproachful Language. But if they were ſuch whoſe Reputation for their Skill was indiſputable, thoſe he brib'd to yield him the Victory. As for the Judges, before he began, he was wont to make his Addreſſes to them with great reſpect and reverence, telling them, *That he had done as much as was to be done, but that the Event was in the hands of Fortune; and therefore that they, being wiſe and learned Men, were to exclude all things fortuitous and accidental.* To which if the Judges reply'd by way of Encouragement, and bid him go on boldly, he retir'd with much more ſatisfaction; and yet not ſo ſettled in his Mind neither, but that taking the ſilence and modeſty of ſome of them, for ſurlineſs and averſion to his Perſon, he could not forbear declaring

to

to his Friends the Jealouſies and Miſtruſts of his Thoughts.

24. On the other ſide, he was ſo ſubmiſſive to the Laws and Rules obſerv'd at theſe kind of Meetings, that he durſt not ſo much as ſpit, nor wipe the ſweat off his Forehead but with his Sleeve. As he was Acting in a Tragedy one day, having let fall his Staff, though he recover'd it immediately, yet he was in ſuch a deadly fear of being Hiſs'd off the Stage for his Miſcarriage, that nothing would put him out of his dejected Humour, till one of the Actors ſwore to him, that the Acclamations and Shouts of the People were ſo great, that it was impoſſible for ſo ſlight an Accident to be taken notice of. When he had got the day he always *pronounc'd himſelf the *Victor*. For which reaſon he was always quarrelling with the Cryer wherever he came. And that there might not be the leaſt Remembrance or Footſtep extant of any other of the Famous Victors at the *Græcian* Games, he commanded all their Statues and Pictures to be pull'd down and thrown into the Common Sewers. He got up into the Box, and drave the Careering Chariots in ſeveral Places: and at the *Olympick* Games, he ſcowr'd away one with ten Horſes; though in one of his own Poems he had inveigh'd againſt *Mithridates* for doing the ſame. But being thrown out of the Box, though preſently reſeated, yet finding he could not hold out, he left off before he had finiſh'd his Courſe; nevertheleſs he carry'd the Prize and was crown'd. Upon his departure from thence, he declar'd the whole Province

* *Which* Dio *expreſly contradicts, affirming* Cluvius Rufus *to be his Cryer upon thoſe Occaſions.*

Province to be free; made the Judges free of the *Roman* City, and rewarded them with large Sums of Money beſide. All which Favours he proclaim'd himſelf, with an Audible Voice, in the middle of the Racing Place, upon the day that the *Iſthmian* Games began.

25. Returning out of *Greece* to *Naples*, becauſe he had there firſt expos'd himſelf in the firſt Tryals of his Art, he caus'd a part of the Wall to be thrown down, and the breach to be levell'd, that he might make his Entry in a Chariot drawn with white Horſes, according to the Cuſtom of Victors in the *Græcian* Games; and in the ſame manner he enter'd *Antium*, *Albanum*, and *Rome*. Only into *Rome* he made his Entry in the ſame Chariot wherein *Auguſtus* formerly had rid in Triumph; and in a Purple Robe, and his Mantle all Embroider'd with Stars of Gold, with an *Olympick* Crown upon his Head, and a *Pythick* Garland in his right Hand, beſides ſeveral others which were carry'd before him in great Pomp; with Inſcriptions of the Names of the Perſons whom he had Conquer'd, the Places where, with what particular Songs, and upon what Subjects; follow'd by a Throng of People tearing the Air with their loud Shouts and Acclamations, as if it had been at an Ovation, crying out, *They were his* Auguſtians, *and his Soldiers the Companions of his Triumph.* Then having caus'd the Arch at the Entrance into the great *Circus* to be pull'd down, he paſs'd through the * *Velabrum*, and the *Forum*, he paſs'd on directly to the *Palatium*, and ſo to the Temple of *Apollo*. In his paſſage ſeveral Victims upon Altars on purpoſe Erected, were ſlain and offer'd up to Congratulate his happy

* *A Street ſo call'd, adjoyning to the Ox Market.*

happy Return; the Streets were ſtrew'd with Saffron, and Birds of ſeveral ſorts, together with Garlands of Lentisk, Ribbands and Junkets thrown among the People; but the Sacred Crowns he plac'd in his Lodging Chamber round about his Bed; as alſo his Statues in his Harpers Habit, which he likewiſe caus'd to be ſtampt upon his Coin. After all this, he was ſo far from remitting or ſurceaſing his Muſical Recreations, that for the preſervation of his Voice, he never made any Speeches to his Soldiers, but what he ſent them in writing, or caus'd another to ſpeak for him. Neither would he do any thing either ſeriouſly or in merriment, unleſs he had his * *Phonaſcus* by him, to put him in mind of ſparing his Arteries, and to ſtop his Mouth with his Handkerchief, in caſe he perſiſted. And indeed he was ſo vain-glorious in this Particular, that his Friendſhip was as eaſily purchas'd by ſedulity of Applauſe, and his Hatred as ſoon incurr'd by remiſſneſs of Commendation.

* Phonaſci *were a ſort of Phyſicians for the Voices of Singſters, Actors and Cryers, and gave them Remedies to preſerve their Lungs.*

26. His Petulancy, Luſt, Luxury, Avarice and Cruelty he practis'd by degrees, and at firſt conceal'd under the excuſes of Indiſcretion and Heat of Youth. But yet he could not carry it ſo, but that it was to every body apparent, they were rather the Vices of Nature then of Age. So ſoon as it grew duskiſh, diſguis'd in a Cap or a round Hat, away he flew to the Tippling Houſes and Cooks Shops, and run frolicking and ſcowring about the Streets, many times miſchievouſly and wickedly bent; beating ſuch as were going home late from Sup-

per,

per, and wounding ſuch as made Reſiſtance, and douſing them in the Houſes of Office. Some little Shops he would alſo break open, and then rifle, having ſet up a kind of a Fair in a back Yard of his Houſe, where the Spoils they had plunder'd were divided and put to ſale. Sometimes in theſe Brawles and Quarrels he ran the hazard of his Life, or having his Eyes beaten out of his Head; being once bruis'd and batter'd almoſt to death by a young Gentleman of *Senatorian* Quality, whoſe Wife he would have taken from him in the Street. For which reaſon he would never, after that, venture himſelf abroad at that time of the Night without ſome of his Tribunes about him, or elſe following him privately at a diſtance. Sometimes alſo in the day time, being carry'd privately in a Sedan to the Theater, he would ſlip into an upper Gallery that look'd into the Tyring Room, where he was both Spectator and Encourager of the Quarrels of the Pantomimes. And when they were together by the Ears a boxing one another, he would pelt them with Stones and Chips of Wood, not ſparing his Benevolences among the People, inſomuch that once he broke the *Prætor*'s Head.

27. But at length his Vices gathering ſtrength, he left off his Waggiſh Tricks and his Frolicks *Incognito*, and no longer ſcrupling detection, laſh'd out into Enormities of a higher Nature. He held on his Riotous Feaſts from Noon till Midnight; for his Refreſhment, ſwimming, in the Winter, in Ponds of hot Water, in the Summer, cooling himſelf in Baths of melted Snow. Sometimes, and that frequently too, he ſupp'd in Publick, either in the Place appointed

appointed for the Repreſentation of Sea-Engagements, or in the Field of *Mars*, or in the greater *Circus*, attended by the moſt Infamous Strumpets, and Profligate Cheats and Scoundrels of the whole City. As often as he was row'd down the *Tiber* to *Oſtia*, or ſail'd by the Bay of *Baiæ*, ſeveral Booths of Entertainment were ſet up all along upon the Banks and Sea-ſides, which were no other than notorious Houſes of Proſtitution, ſtuft with Women imitating the Allurements of Harlots, and inviting him to come a Shore. At other times he invited himſelf to his moſt peculiar Favourites, among whom there was one that preſented him with a ſweet Bag that coſt him a Hunder'd thouſand Crowns; and another that expended ſomewhat a larger Sum in perfum'd Roſes and ſweet Waters.

28. Beſides a great number of Pages, which were the Sons of Freemen, which he made uſe of in his unlawful Pleaſures, and his Contaminations of marry'd Women, he alſo deflour'd *Rubria*, one of the *Veſtal* Virgins; and very fain would have marry'd *Actæ*, that was no more than a Slave; though he ſuborn'd ſeveral Perſons of no leſs than Conſular Degree to perjure themſelves, and ſwear that ſhe was of Royal Extraction. *Sporus*, a young Boy, after he had caus'd him to be gelt, he endeavour'd to have altogether transform'd into a Woman; and after he had marry'd him vail'd like a Bride, and a Dowry ſettl'd upon him, with all the Ceremonies of a ſumptuous Wedding, he kept him at home as his Wife. Upon which occaſion there is extant a pleaſant Jeaſt that was made by ſome of the Wits of thoſe Times,

That

That it had been well for all the World if Domitius *his Father had had ſuch a Wife.* This *Sporus* he caus'd to be dreſs'd up in pompous and coſtly Habit, as if he had been the Empreſs her ſelf, under the Title of *Auguſta*, and carrying him about to all the Publick Aſſembles and Trading Towns of *Greece*, and ſoon after at *Rome*, ſhewing him in the *Sigillarian* Street, would frequently kiſs him as they ſate together in the ſame Litter. It was alſo reported that he had an eager deſire to have lain with his own Mother, and that he had certainly done it, but that he was diverted from his luſtful deſign by ſome that were none of her Friends; who fear'd the ill Conſquences of ſuch a Favour beſtow'd upon a Woman, whoſe Pride and Ambitious Fury were violent enough already. However he ſent for a Harlot, who was reported to be very like *Agrippina*, and entertain'd her among the reſt of his Concubines. Moreover it was ſaid, that formerly, as often as he rode in the ſame Litter together with his Mother, they had their Inceſtuous dalliances together, which was diſcover'd by the Pollutions that beſmear'd his Cloaths.

29. His own Chaſtity he proſtituted in ſuch a manner, that there was hardly a Member of his Body undefil'd; inſomuch that at length he invented a new ſort of Leachery, which was to cover himſelf all over with the Skin of ſome Wild Beaſt, and ſo to be let out of a Cage, that he might fly upon the Secrets of Men and Women that were ty'd to a Stake; and after he had that way ſufficiently gratify'd his Inſane and Monſtrous Appetite, proſtrating his own Body to his Enfranchis'd Bond-man *Doryphorus*,

Doryphorus, who had marry'd him, as he himſelf had wedded *Sporus*; and in that paſſive Poſture counterfeiting the ſoft cryes and complaints of a new bedded Virgin. I have heard from ſome Perſons, that he was abſolutely of an Opinion, that there was no Man living who was not altogether as wicked and impure of his Body as himſelf; only that they diſſembl'd their Vices, and were ſo cunning as to be private in their Debaucheries. And if any would but confeſs their obſcœnities to him, he pardon'd all the reſt of their Crimes.

30. He had a firm belief, that there was no true Enjoyment of Wealth or Riches, but what conſiſted in Waſt and Profuſion; and therefore look'd upon all thoſe as ſordid and miſerable, who took any accompt of their Expences; eſteeming thoſe to be only Magnificent and brave Fellows, that ſquander'd away and laviſhly conſum'd what they had. Nor did he extol and admire his Uncle *Caius* for any thing ſo much, as for ſpending in ſo ſhort a time, the vaſt Treaſures that *Tiberius* had left him. And therefore it was, that he never obſerv'd any Meaſure in the Prodigality of his Gifts and Expences. So certain it is, though it may ſeem incredible, that upon *Tiridates*, he ſpent no leſs than Twenty thouſand Crowns a day; and at his departure oblig'd him with a Preſent of above Five and twenty hunder'd thouſand Crowns more. *Menecrates* the Harper, and *Spicillus* the *Mirmillonian* Fencer he Enrich'd with the Patrimonies and Houſes of Noble Perſons, that had been Honour'd with Triumphal Dignity. Having beſtow'd the Eſtate of *Paneros* the Uſurer, with ſeveral other

Revenues in the City, and Mannors in the Country upon an *Ethiopick* Monkey call'd a * *Cercopithecus*, when it was dead he made a Royal Funeral for it. At Dice it was his uſual Cuſtom to venture no leſs then Ten thouſand Crowns upon every Caſt, or Spot of the Dye. When he went a Fiſhing his Net was of Gold Wire, and the Cords of twiſted Purple Silk and Scarlet in Grain. He never travell'd with leſs than a thouſand Waggons in his Train, his Mules ſhod with Silver, and his Mule Drivers in Liveries of *Canuſian* Cloth, with a numerous Throng of Blackamore Footmen, gayly trickt and trimm'd with Bracelets and Silver Collars.

* *Reported by* Ludolphus *to be one of the moſt lovely Creatures in the World.*

31. But there was nothing wherein he was more prejudicial and deſtructive to other Men then in his Buildings; for he enlarg'd his Houſe from the Palace as far as the *Eſquiline Mount*; which at firſt he call'd his *Thourough-Fare*; but being burnt down and rebuilt he nam'd his *Golden Houſe*. Of which to demonſtrate the largeneſs and beauty, it will be ſufficient to ſay thus much, that the very entrance was of that ſtately heighth, as to cover a Coloſſus, repreſenting *Nero*'s Countenance, no leſs than a Hunder'd and twenty Foot high; ſo ſpacious withal, that it contain'd Portico's ſupported with three Rows of Pillars a full Mile in length; together with a Lake, like a Sea, ſurrounded with Buildings like ſo many Cities. Beſides all this, it had within it Fields, Vinyards and Woods, with variety of Beaſts both Wild and Tame. Within ſide, it was richly overlaid with Gold, and every where Adorn'd with the dazling Glitter of Precious Stones and Mother of Pearl.

Pearl. In the vaulted Roofs of his Banquetting Rooms were ſeveral little Tables of Ivory, ſo contriv'd as to turn round and ſcatter Flowers, and hollow Pipes to ſhowre down ſweet ſcented Oyls upon the Gueſts. But the principal of his Dining-Rooms was round, and in perpetual Motion day and night like the Celeſtial Sphear. His Baths continually flowing either with Sea Water, or elſe fed from the Sulfury Springs of *Tivoli*. Nevertheleſs, after he had finiſh'd this Houſe and came to dedicate it, he ſpoke no farther in its Commendation, than only this, *That now he ſhould begin to live ſomething like a Man.* He alſo began a Canal from *Miſenum* to the Lake *Avernus*, and intended to have cover'd it all the way with an Arch, and to have brought into it all the hot Waters of *Baiæ*. He alſo deſign'd another *Canal* from the Lake *Avernus* to the Mouth of the River *Tiber*, a Hunder'd and ſixty Miles in length, Navigable for Ships of Burthen, and ſo broad, that if two Gallies of five Rowes of Oars met, they might ſheer by without any prejudice one to the other. And to enable him to bring theſe prodigious Undertakings to perfection, he commanded all Priſoners from all parts of the Empire to be tranſported into *Italy*, and that for the Puniſhment of all Criminals for the future, they ſhould be only Condemn'd to his Works. Into which extravagant Rage and Fury of Expence, beſides the Confidence he had in the Wealth of the Empire, he was deluded by a *Roman* Knight, who had buzz'd him in the Ears, that the vaſt Wealth which Queen *Dido* had carry'd along with her in her flight from *Tyre*, lay hid in ſeveral ſpacious Caves in

the hithermoſt parts of *Africa*, and might be digg'd up again with ſmall Charges and little Labour.

32. But thoſe hopes failing him, and now reduc'd to that Exigency and Want, that he had not wherewithal to pay his Soldiers, nor to oblige his Veterans with their wonted Gratifications, he betook himſelf to all manner of Rapine and Extortion. In the firſt place he ordain'd that if any enfranchis'd Bondman had in his Life time, without juſt and lawful Reaſon, aſſum'd the Name of any Family to which he was any way ally'd, after their deceaſe, inſtead of a Moity, Nine parts of their Eſtates ſhould be levy'd and brought into the Treaſury. Then that the Wills of all People who had been ſo ingrateful to their Prince as to leave him nothing ſhould be void, and their Eſtates Confiſcated, and the Lawyers who had either dictated or written the ſaid Wills ſhould be liable to be ſu'd. And that all Words and Actions ſhould come within the Statute of Treaſon, provided there were but an Informer to juſtifie the Charge. He alſo redemanded the Crowns and Rewards which the Cities had offer'd him as Victor in his Muſical Conteſts, and Chariot-Races, and which he had in his Generoſity refus'd. And whereas he had forbid the uſe of the Violet and Purple Colours, he would ſend Perſons up and down to the ſeveral Fairs to ſell ſome few Ounces, and then pretending the breach of his Laws, would ſeize upon all the Merchants Goods. Another time as he was ſinging upon the Stage, having ſpy'd a Lady dreſt in forbidden Purple, he ſhew'd her to his Officers, who hal'd her from her Seat, and not only

only ſtripp'd her of her prohibited Garment, but deſpoil'd her of her Eſtate. He never beſtow'd an Employment upon any Man, but he gave him this Admonition, *Thou knoweſt what we want.* Or elſe, *We are to make it our buſineſs that no Man ſhall dare to call any thing his own.* In the laſt place he pillag'd the very Temples themſelves of the Donatives and Oblations of Religious People; and melted down the Statues of the Gods that were either of Gold or Silver; among which he ſpar'd not the little Images of the Tutelar Houſe-hold Gods, which *Galba* afterwards reſtor'd.

33. His firſt Parricides and Murders, he began upon *Claudius*; of whoſe death although he were not the principal Contriver, yet he was acceſſary to it. Nor did he diſſemble it, as he that afterwards in a *Greeek* Proverb was wont to extol *Muſhromes*, in which *Claudius* had taken the Poyſon that did his Work, as *Meat only for the Gods.* And certain it is, that he took all occaſions to beſpatter his Memory with all the Calumnies and Reproaches that his Wit could invent, ſometimes upbraiding his Folly, and at other times bitterly inveighing againſt his Cruelty. Among other things ſpeaking of his death, inſtead of ſaying, *he ceas'd to live among Men*, punning upon the word *Morari*, and inſiſting a long time upon the firſt Syllable * *Mo*, he did as good as intimate, *That he ceas'd to play the Fool among Men.* And cancell'd many of his Decrees and Conſtitutions, as the Acts of a Dotard and a Madman. Nor did he take any care to have his Monument fenc'd in, but with a low and pitiful Partition. As for *Britannicus*, whom he emulated for his Voice,

* *Alluding to the word* μωρὸς *in* Greek, *which ſignifies a Changeling.*

which was much more ſweet and pleaſing than his own, and of whom he was no leſs afraid, leſt the Memory of his Father ſhould gain him the Hearts of the People, he attempted to make him away by Poyſon. To which purpoſe, he had a Potion prepar'd by one *Locuſta*, a diſcoverer of ſeveral Conſpiracies of that Nature; which becauſe it did not work according to his expectation, the Conſequence of it being only a violent Looſeneſs, he ſent for the Woman, beat her with his own hands, and reproach'd her that ſhe had given the young Prince an Antidote inſtead of a Poyſon. For which, when ſhe pleaded by way of excuſe, that ſhe forbore to make it over ſtrong, to prevent the noiſe and cenſures of the World, had his death been too ſudden, *How*! ſaid he, *what doſt think me then to be afraid of the* * Julian *Law?* And thereupon commanded her to boil another Doſe in his own Chamber, ſtrong enough for quick and preſent diſpatch; which ſo ſoon as it was ready, he cauſs'd to be try'd upon a young Kid; and becauſe the poor Creature lay lingring above Five Hours before it dy'd, he caus'd it to be boyl'd over again, and then given to a Pig; which being preſently diſpatch'd, he caus'd it to be brought into the Dinning-Room, and given to *Britannicus* as he ſate with him at Supper. Who had no ſooner ſwallow'd it but he fell down dead. But *Nero* had a Lye ready fram'd in his Mouth to palliate the matter, pretending to the Gueſts that it was a Fit of the Falling-ſickneſs, to which Diſtemper *Britannicus* was extreamly

* *Made by* Cæſar *when Dictator, or rather the* Cornelian *Law, by him reviv'd; by which it was death to buy, ſell, or give Poyſon for the making away of any Man.*

treamly ſubject; and the next day hurry'd him to his Funeral in a very great ſhowr of Rain, without any regard to his Birth or Figure in the Empire. And as for *Locuſta*, as a Recompence for having done her work ſo effectually, he not only enrich'd her with ample Revenues, but allow'd her to ſet up a School, and to inſtruct others in her Art.

34. His Mother, becauſe ſhe pry'd too narrowly into his Words and Actions, and ſometimes ſharply rebuk'd him for his Miſcarriages, at firſt he only ſeem'd to be diſpleas'd with, pretending he would reſign the Empire and retire to *Rhodes*, on purpoſe to render her Odious to the People; but ſoon after he depriv'd her of all her Honours and ſway in the Government; and withdrawing from her her *Prætorian* and *German* Guards, expell'd her both his Palace and Society. Nor did he omit any means that he could think of to diſturb her quiet, and to put her to trouble and vexation; daily ſuborning People, while ſhe ſtay'd at *Rome*, to perplex her with Actions and Suits; and others to harraſs her with all the foul and contumelious Language that Malice could invent in her private Retirements, as they paſs'd that way, either by Land or Sea: Till at length terrify'd by the Threats and violent Expoſtulations of a Woman of an invincible Spirit, he reſolv'd upon her Deſtruction. To which purpoſe, after he had three times attempted to poyſon her, perceiving that ſhe was well fortify'd with Antidotes, he contriv'd a way to looſen the Rafters of her Bed-Chamber, by that means to bury her as ſhe lay a ſleep under the Ruins of the Cieling. But that deſign being

diſcover'd by ſome of the Confederates, he devis'd to have a Ship built, but ſo ſlightly put together, that when ſhe was in it, ſhe might either drop into the Sea through the Planks that were of a ſudden to ſlip out of their Places, or elſe be bruis'd to death by the fall of the Cabin. To bring the deſign about, he pretended to be reconcil'd to his Mother, and writ to her the moſt obliging Letters imaginable, full of filial duty and reſpect, wherein he moſt earneſtly invited her to *Baiæ*, to grace with both their Preſences the ſolemn Feſtivals of *Minerva*. So ſoon as ſhe was arriv'd, he gave private Orders to the Captains of the Gallies to overſet the Pinnace which had brought her, as if they had fallen foul upon the Veſſel by chance; and to give them the more leiſure to accompliſh their deſign, he protracted his Banquet for ſome Hours. At length when ſhe was ready to return to *Bauli*, upon the news that her own Pinnace was founder'd and quite diſſabl'd for the Sea, he offer'd her the Workmanſhip of his Treachery that hung by Geometry, attending her to the Sea ſide with all the Careſſes of obſequious Fraud, and at her departure kiſſing her Breaſts: but when ſhe was gone off, no leſs ſollicitous of the Event, and in a trembling Agony, awaiting the ſucceſs of his Invention. But when he heard that all things had deceiv'd his expectation, and that his Mother had eſcap'd by ſwimming, then at his Wits end, and not knowing what courſe to take, he caus'd his enfranchiz'd Bond-man *L. Agernius*, who with great joy had brought him the Tydings that ſhe was alive and ſafe, under pretence of the diſcovery of a Dagger, which he had laid under his Cuſhion on purpoſe, to

be

be apprehended and clapt in Irons, as one that his Mother had ſuborn'd to murder him; and at the ſame inſtant commanded his Mother to be kill'd: yet ſo privately and with that caution, that he might have an opportunity to give it out that ſhe had kill'd her ſelf upon the detection of her Conſpiracy. To theſe Inhuman Cruelties, there are ſome Authors of no mean Repute, that joyn Impieties yet more Enormous: as that he ran with eager Curioſity to view the naked Body of his Mother as ſhe lay weltring in her Blood; and that he handled all her Limbs, of which he commended ſome for their beauty and ſhape, and diſprais'd others; and that happening to be adry in the midſt of his unnatural ſurvey, he had the confidence to quench his Thirſt over his murder'd Parent. But notwithſtanding all theſe proud Inſultings of malicious Mirth, not all the Congratulations of the Soldiers, the Senate, and the People, could releaſe him from the Horrours of a Guilty Conſcience, which from that time forward never would permit him to reſt either awake or ſleeping. Full often he confeſs'd himſelf haunted by his Mothers Ghoſt, and that the *Furies* ſometimes laſh'd him with their Whips, and ſometimes ſear'd his Skin with their burning Torches. Thus tormented, he at length apply'd himſelf to the *Magicians*, whom he order'd to trye the force of their moſt ſolemn Sacrifices, and Conjure up the Offended *Manes*, that he might endeavour to attone their juſt diſpleaſure. Another time in a Progreſs that he made through ſeveral Cities of *Greece*, he durſt not approach the *Eleuſinian Ceremonies*, hearing the Cryer make Proclamation for all Impious and

and guilty Perſons to depart. Nevertheleſs he could not refrain from adding the murder of his Aunt to the Parricide of his Mother. This Lady lying ill of a Diſtemper that would not permit her the benefit of Nature, he came one day to viſit; at what time among other Careſſes and marks of her tender Affection, as ſhe was ſtroaking his downy Beard, the aged Princeſs happening to uſe this kind Expreſſion, *Had it been my lot to have taken up this Hair, when firſt cut off, I ſhould then have been contented to have dy'd*; *Nero* turning about to thoſe that ſtood next him, *That ſhall be preſently done*, ſaid he, in a flowting and deriding manner; and withal commanded the Phyſicians to purge her ſtoutly. Nor was the Breath hardly out of her Body before he ſent to ſeize upon her Eſtate; and as for her Will he totally ſuppreſt it, that he might have all to himſelf.

35. Beſides *Octavia*, he had two other Wives, *Poppæa Sabina*, whoſe Father had been *Quæſtor*, and marry'd before to a *Roman* Knight. Next to her he eſpous'd *Statilia Meſſalina*, Granddaughter in the third Degree to *Taurus*, who had been twice Conſul, and triumph'd once. And that he might enjoy the Sweets of her Embraces, he put to death her Husband *Atticus Veſtinus* in the very time of his Conſulſhip. Being ſoon weary'd with *Octavia*'s Company, and for that reaſon ſmartly reprehended by his Friends, he reply'd, *That it behov'd her to be ſatisfy'd with the Ornaments and Jewels of an Emperors Wife, which he had allow'd her to carry away along with her.* Afterwards having ſeveral times in vain attempted to ſtrangle her, he divorc'd her under pretence of Barrenneſs; but perceiving the People

ple took her part, and cry'd down the Divorce, not ſparing to reproach and upbraid him with his Ingratitude, he baniſh'd her out of the way; and laſtly put her to death upon a pretended Charge of ſeveral Adulteries by her committed, ſo notoriouſly and impudently falſe, that when he could get nothing out of the Witneſſes that were rack'd to Confeſſion, he ſuborn'd *Anicetus*, one of his *Pedagogues* to come in and ſwear that he had vitiated her by a Wile. He marry'd *Poppæa* within twelve days after he had divorc'd *Octavia*, and lov'd her with an entire Affection. Nevertheleſs, as well as he lov'd her, he kill'd her with a kick upon the Guts, though ſhe were big with Child, and ſickly withal, for no other reaſon but only chiding him for ſtaying a little too late at his Chariot-Driving Exerciſes. Notwithſtanding by her he had his beloved *Claudia Auguſta*, who dy'd an Infant. In a word, there was not any of his Kindred or Relations whom his impious Inhumanity did not bring to untimely Ends. *Antonia* the Daughter of *Claudius* he put to death, becauſe ſhe refus'd to marry him after the death of *Poppæa*, upon pretence that ſhe was hatching new contrivances to embroil the Empire. And upon the ſame jealouſies and ſuſpitions he made away with the reſt that were any way ally'd or related to him in Blood. Of which number was *Aulus Plantius*, a young Gentleman; whoſe Body after he had by force defil'd before he mangl'd him to death, *Now*, ſaid he, *let my Mother go and kiſs my Succeſſor*, giving it out that he was his Mothers Gallant, and by her ſpurr'd on to lay claim to the Empire. His Son-in-Law *Rufinus Criſpus*, the Son of *Poppæa* by her

her first Husband, not yet fourteen years of age, he sent packing out of the World, because he was reported to Personate Generals and Emperors in his common Sports; and to that purpose brib'd his own Servants to throw him into the Sea, as he was one day busily intent at his Pastime of Fishing. He banish'd *Tuscus* his Nurses Son, because that while he was Procurator of *Ægypt*, he presum'd to wash himself in those Baths, which the *Ægyptians* had built against his coming. He constrain'd his Tutor *Seneca* to lay violent hands upon himself, though he had frequently desir'd leave to retire from Court, and had given him his Estate; and though he had solemnly sworn, *That he was utterly innocent of any the least cause of suspition, and would rather choose to dye than prejudice the least Hair of his Head.* Having promis'd *Burrus* the Captain of his Guards a Remedy for a swelling in his Throat, he sent him a rank Poyson. All his wealthy and aged enfranchis'd Bondmen, that had been instrumental to procure his Adoption and his advancement to the Empire, he hasten'd to their ends by strong Poysons also, intermix'd sometimes with their Meat and sometimes with their Drinks. Nor was his Inhuman Fury less fatal to Strangers and Foreigners.

36. About the same time a Blazing Star appear'd for several Nights together; which was generally look'd upon as a Portent that presag'd the Downfal of Sovearign Powers. Consternated with this Prodigy, he knew not what to think; but *Babilus* the Astrologer having inform'd him, that it was the Custom of Monarchs to expiate those Portents by some remarkable and signal Massacre, there-

by

by to avert the Judgment from themſelves upon the heads of their Peers and Nobility, he deſign'd the ſlaughter and deſtruction of all that were of any Rank or Quality in the City; ſo much the rather becauſe he had a ſpecious Plea for his ſo doing, as having diſcover'd two Conſpiracies againſt him but a little before. Of which the firſt and moſt dangerous was that wherein *Piſo* was engag'd; the other, that of *Vinicius*, contriv'd and detected at *Beneventum*. The Conſpirators pleaded for their Lives in Chains conſiſting of treble Links of Iron. Some indeed there were who confeſs'd the matter of Fact of their own accords; but others more boldly told him to his Face, that they knew no better way to ſerve him, than by putting an end to his flagitious Life. However they were all alike condemn'd; and their Children all expell'd the City, and either made away by Poyſon or ſtarv'd to death. Moſt certain it is that a good number of them were poyſon'd at one Meal, together with their Tutors and their Servants that kept their Books; and others of the poorer ſort forbid to work for Bread.

37. After that, he gave his Cruelty its full ſwing, murdering all without exception or examination as he pleas'd himſelf. Not to inſtance many, there was *Salvidienus Orfitus*, to whom it was objected that he had let out three Lodgings in his Houſe neer the *Forum* to the Deputies of certain Free Towns. The main Quarrel againſt *Caſſius Longinus*, a Lawyer, and blind with age, was only this, that he had plac'd among his Anceſtors the Statue of *C. Caſſius*, one of *Cæſars* Aſſaſſinates. And for *Pætus Thraſea*, there was nothing againſt him, but

but his Vinegar Countenance, that made him look with a crabbed Face like a School-master. However according to his Law, they deserv'd death, and there was no resistance. Nor did he allow above an hours space to those that he commanded to kill themselves. And that there might be no delay, he sent his Surgeons, *To cure those that were loath to dispatch themselves*; for so he call'd opening the Veins, to the end they might bleed to death. He is also reported to have had a great fancy, hearing of a certain Voracious *Ægyptian*, that would eat raw Flesh or any thing that was set before him, to have given him living Men to tear and devoure. And thus puft up with uncontroul'd success, he deny'd, *That ever as yet any Prince understood what was lawful for him to do.* And besides all this, he would frequently let drop many Expressions that were easie to be understood, that he intended not to spare the rest of the Senators; nay that he would utterly extirpate that Order out of the Republick, and give the Commands of the Armies and Provinces to the Gentlemen of *Rome* and his enfranchiz'd Bondmen. Certain it is that neither coming nor going, he would vouchsafe them the Honour of a Kiss, or the return of a usual Salute. And when he began his great undertaking of the *Isthmus*; at what time with a loud Voice, and in a full Assembly of Soldiers and Strangers, he prayd *That the Design might turn to his own and the benefit of the People of* Rome, he spoke not a word of the Senate.

38. Neither did he spare either the People or the Walls of his Native Country. So that a certain Person in common Discourse

courſe repeating the following Verſe in *Greek*.

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.

When I am dead and in my Urn,
Let Earth and Fire together burn,
And all the World to Cinders turn.

He reply'd, *rather* Ἐμοῦ ζῶντος.

More nobly, while I live, would I deſire
To ſee the tumbling Univerſe a Fire.

And indeed he made his words good; for pretending to be offended with the deformity of the ancient Buildings, and the narrow Paſſages and Turnings of the Streets, he ſet it on Fire ſo publickly, that many Perſons of Conſular Dignity, having apprehended ſeveral of the Gentlemen of his Chamber in their Houſes with Fire and Wiſps of Tow in their hands, durſt not meddle with them, but were forc'd to let them go again. And becauſe there were certain Magazines adjoyning to his Golden Houſe, out of an impatient deſire to enlarge his Courts, and his Proſpect, he order'd them to be batter'd down with Warlike Engines, as being built of Stone, and therefore not eaſily yielding to the Flames. This Calamity rag'd for ſix days and ſeven nights together, while the poor People were forc'd to ſeek for ſhelter among the Monuments and Tombs of the dead. And then it was that beſides the vaſt number of ordinary Houſes, the Palaces of the great Captains in former ages, adorn'd with the Spoils of Forreign Conqueſts, were all conſum'd to Aſhes,

Aſhes, together with the Temples of the Gods, which the ancient Kings of *Rome* had rais'd, and had afterwards in the *Punick* and *Gallick* Wars been Conſecrated and Devoted to the Memory of the *Roman* Victories; and in a word, whatever Antiquity had rear'd of Monumental and worthy the Veneration of Men. While he, beholding the dreadful Conflagration from *Mæcenas*'s Tower, and rejoycing, as he ſaid, at the *Beauty of the Flames*, in his Actors Habit ſang the Tragedy of the *Deſtruction* of *Troy*, call'd ἅλωσις *Ilij*, or the *Taking and ſack of* Ilium. And that he might have all the Spoil and Booty of the Ruins to himſelf, he promis'd to clear away the Rubbiſh at his own Charges; and therefore would not ſuffer any Man to make the leaſt ſearch for what the Flames had left him; beſides another gain which he made by his loſſes, by the demand of Contributions, which were ſo exceſſive, that he exhauſted not only the Eſtates of private Perſons, but the Wealth of all the Provinces.

39. Theſe Deſolations and Miſeries, which were only the Effects of their Princes Inhumanity, were attended by other accidental Calamities, as a Peſtilence that laſted one whole Autumn; during which ſhort ſpace of time, there was an accompt, by the Bearers, of Thirty thouſand Funerals carry'd forth to the publick place of Burial: and next to that the *Britiſh* Maſſacre; at what time two of the chiefeſt Garriſons and Cities in that Iſland, were taken and ſack'd with a dreadful ſlaughter both of the *Romans* and their Allies: beſides the Diſhonour and Ignominy in the Eaſt of having the Legions put under the Yoak, and all *Syria* like to have been loſt.

loſt. In the midſt of theſe Misfortunes that were all attributed to the Miſcarriages of his Government, there was uothing ſo much to be wonder'd at as his Patience in bearing all the Execrations and Reproaches that were caſt upon him; and that he ſhould be to none ſo mild and gentle as he was to thoſe that teaz'd him with Satyrs and Lampoons: Of which there were many written ſuch as theſe that follow, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, and publickly thrown about:

Νέρων, Ορέστης Ἀλκμαίων μητροκτόνοι;
Νεόγυμνον Νέρων ἰδίαν μητρὸ ἀπέκτεινεν.

Nero, Oreſtes, *and* Alkmæon *too*,
All theſe were Hero's that their Mothers ſlew.
The moſt ungratious Nero *though, to kiſs*
And then to kill his Mother-Miſs.

Quis negat Æneæ magna de ſtirpe *Neronem*,
Suſtulit hic Matrem, ſuſtulit ille Patrem.

Who dares deny the Mighty Nero *ſprung*
From Great Æneas *Loyns? The one, when young,*
His Father on his Shoulders ſav'd; the other
By Head and Shoulders carry'd off his Mother.

Dum tendit Noſter Citharam, dum Cornua *Parthus*,
Noſter erit *Pæan*, ille *Hecatebeletes*.

While mighty Nero *ſtrains his Tuneful Wires,*
And the Fierce Parthian *draws his Horny Bow,*
Each one to fam'd Phœbean *Skill aſpires;*
Call the laſt Pæan *then, his Darts we know;*

But him Hecatebeletes, *whose Tragick sounds*
To distant Regions reach their deadly wounds.

Roma Domus fiet, *Veios* migrate Quirites,
Si non & *Veios* occupat illa Domus.

Old Rome *must now be made one House of State;*
To Veii, Romans *troop, e'e 'tis too late;*
Least while ye linger, doubtful what to do,
The House prevent ye, and reach thither too.

However, he never made any enquiry after the Authors, and some that were discover'd by Informers to the Senate, he would not suffer to be punish'd with any severity. *Isidorus* the *Cynick* made no scruple, seeing him one day pass by in publick, to revile him openly, and tell him with a loud Voice, *That he could sing the wicked Actions of* Nauplius *well enough, but made a very ill use of his own good Qualities.* *Datus* also, an Actor of *Attellan* Farces, in a certain Song, wherein were these words ὑίαυε πάτερ, ὑίαυε μήτερ, *God buy Father, God buy Mother*, pointed so directly at the Deaths of *Claudius* and *Agrippina*, that by his Postures of sometimes drinking, sometimes swimming, every body might easily know what he meant; and in the last Clause he concluded with these words,

Orcus vobis ducit Pedes.

Pluto *is preparing to carry ye forth with your Feet forwards.*

at the same time directing his antick Postures to the Senators. Nevertheless he proceeded no farther against either the Philosophers or these kind

kind of Jack-Puddings, then only to expel them the City and the Confines of *Italy*; whether it were that he deſpis'd all their Infamous Reflections, or whether he were afraid to incenſe the Wits of the Times, by ſhewing his Reſentment.

40. At length all the World having groan'd under the Oppreſſions of ſuch a Prince for little leſs than Fourteen years, began to deſert him; the *Gauls* firſt breaking the Ice, under the Command of *Julius Vindex*, who then Govern'd that Province, under the Title of *Prætor*. It ſeems that the Aſtrologers having formerly foretold *Nero*, that the time would come, when all the World ſhould deſert him, he had frequently this Expreſſion in his Mouth:

Τὸ τέχνιον γὰ πᾶσι γᾶι ἀναγράφει.

In every Country Art will find
Admirers that will ſtill be kind.

Intimating thereby that he was the more to be pardon'd for applying himſelf ſo ſeduloufly to Muſick, which though his Diverſion only while he was Emperor, might prove his ſupport when reduc'd to neceſſity. However there were ſome who aſſur'd him the Dominion of the *Eaſt*, let the worſt come to the worſt; others more particularly the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*; but the greateſt part ſtill flatter'd him that he ſhould be abſolutely reſtor'd to his priſtin Majeſty. Which he was the apter to believe, for that *Britain* and *Armenia*, both in a fair way to be loſt, being again reduc'd to their Obedience, he concluded there was no fatal accident could do him any prejudice. But after he had Conſulted the Oracle of *Apollo*,

by which he was admoniſh'd to beware of the *Seventy third year*, as if the Heavens had decreed the prolonging of his Life to that age, and never dreaming of *Galba*'s years, he became ſo confident of long Life and continu'd Felicity, that having loſt a conſiderable quantity of rich Jewels and coſtly Furniture in a Wreck at Sea, he vaunted among his Favourites, *That the Fiſh would bring them again.* At *Naples* he had Intelligence of the Revolt of both the *Gallias*, the very ſame day that he kill'd his Mother. At which he was ſo little troubled, that he ſeem'd rather to be glad of it, as having now a juſt occaſion given to rob and plunder thoſe opulent Provinces; and preſently haſtening to the Place of Exerciſe, he beheld the Wreſtlers with all the unconcerndneſs imaginable. And being interrupted at Supper upon the arrival of Letters augmenting the bad news, his Paſſion roſe no higher than only to threaten the Revolters what he would do to them. Laſtly for eight days together, he took no care in the World, but buried all buſineſs in ſilence, without ſo much as anſwering any Letters or giving out any Orders what he would have done.

41. But at length awaken'd with the frequent and Contumelious Edicts of *Vindex*, he wrote a Letter to the Senate to vindicate his Honour, and provide for the publick ſafety; excuſing his abſence, by reaſon of an Inflamation in his Jaws. But nothing perplex'd him ſo much, but that he was reproach'd with the Name of Pitiful Harper, and inſtead of *Nero* call'd *Ænobarbus*: which made him declare that he would reaſſume the Name of his Family,

ly, and quit the other of his Adoption, ſince they reproach'd him with it as a name which he was aſham'd to own. Nor did he ſtrive to refute the falſhood of other Contumelies, by any other defence of himſelf, then only ſaying, they were fools and ignorant Perſons that objected to his diſreputation, his perfection in a Science, which he had labour'd with ſo much pains to acquire. Till at length Meſſengers poſting after Meſſengers with ill News, full of Terrour and Conſternation he return'd to *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, his Heart being a little reviv'd upon the Road with a frivolus *Auſpice*, as having obſerv'd as he rode along engrav'd upon a Monument a *French* Soldier worſted by a *Roman* Knight, and dragg'd by the hair of his Head, he leap'd for Joy, and Worſhipp'd towards Heaven. Yet neither then would he vouchſafe to Addreſs himſelf to the Senate or the People, but ſent for ſome few of the moſt leading Men to his own Houſe; where after a ſhort and haſty Conſultation, he carry'd them to hear his *Hydraulics*, a new and unknown ſort of Muſical Organs that went with Water. And after he had ſhewn them all the Contrivances, and diſcours'd the Reaſon and difficulty of the Workmanſhip, promis'd to bring them in a ſhort time upon the Theater, if *Vindex* would give him leave.

42. Afterwards, when the News came that *Galba* and both the *Spains* were likewiſe revolted, his Heart failing him, he ſank down, and for a long time lay Speechleſs, like one that had neither Life nor Soul. So ſoon as he came to himſelf, he fell a tearing his Cloaths, thump'd himſelf about the Head, and at length

cry'd out, *Actum de ſe, The World was at end with him.* And when his Nurſe endeavour'd to comfort him by telling him, *That the ſame Accidents had many times befallen other Princes*; *No, no*, ſaid he, *for my Misfortunes ſuch as were never heard of, never known before, ſurpaſs the Sufferings of others, that muſt living loſe an Empire.* And yet for all this he remitted nothing of his wonted Sloath and Luxury. So that upon the refreſhing News that was brought him out of the Provinces, in the midſt of a Profuſe Supper, he would make jocular Verſes upon the Principal Heads of the Revolt, and ſing them to common laſcivious Tunes, at the ſame time ſeconding his Voice with Geſtures no leſs Mimical and Wanton. And cauſing himſelf to be privately conveigh'd into the Theater, ſuch was his Emulation to an Actor who gave great Satisfaction to the Spectators, that he ſent him word, *He made too bold with his Emperors Recreations.*

43. At the beginning of theſe Inſurrections he is reported to have deſign'd moſt horrid and deteſtable Projects, yet ſuch as were no way repugnant to the Cruelty of his Nature. In the firſt place, to have ſent Succeſſors to Command the Armies, and Executioners to Maſſacre the old Captains and Governours of the Provinces, as guilty of Combination and Conſpiracy; and to make a general havock of all the Baniſh'd Perſons, and of all the *Gauls* that were living in the World; the one, leaſt they ſhould joyn with the Revolters; the others, as Confederates with their Countrymen, and favourers of their Rebellion: to have given up all *Gallia* to the Plunder of his Army; to have poyſon'd the whole Senate at ſeveral Entertainments;

ments; and to have laid the City in Aſhes, and while the Conflagration laſted, to have turn'd wild Beaſts among the People, to prevent their quenching the Flames. From all which he was deterr'd, not ſo much by any Touches of penitent Compunction, as out of deſpair to bring his wicked Contrivances to paſs. So that at length being convinc'd of the neceſſity of an expedition, he turn'd the Conſuls out of their Offices before their time, and enter'd upon the Conſulſhip alone by himſelf; dreaming, as if the Fates had decreed, that *Gallia* could never be ſubdu'd, but by one Conſul. So ſoon as he had receiv'd the Faſces, as he was going out of his Dining-Room, after a Plentiful Feaſt, leaning upon the Shoulders of his Favourites, he declar'd, that as ſoon as he arriv'd in the Province, he would preſent himſelf unarm'd at the head of the Army, and do nothing but weep. And when he had wrought the Rebels to ſubmiſſion, the next day rejoycing among the Joyful, he would ſing Songs of Victory and Triumph, which it was already high time for him to begin to compoſe.

44. Among the reſt of his Preparations for his Expedition, his firſt care was to provide Waggons to carry his *Scenical Machines* and Muſical Inſtruments, and have his Concubines, which he deſign'd to carry with him, trim'd with their Hair cut like Men, and arm'd with Battel-axes, and ſmall round Targets after the manner of the *Amazons*. Soon after, he ſummon'd the City Tribes to take their Oaths of Fidelity; but no Perſon by the Law permitted to bear Arms appearing, he order'd every Maſter to find him ſuch a number of Servants;

not excepting Domeſtick Stewards and *Amanuenſes*. He alſo commanded all the Orders to contribute a part of their Eſtates, as they were rated in the *Cenſors* Book. Lodgers alſo in private Houſes, and all Inhabitants though never ſo mean and poor, he order'd to pay an Annual Penſion into the Treaſury all in ready Caſh. He was very nice and curious what Money he took, and refus'd all but new Coin, fine Silver, and try'd Gold: So that moſt People openly oppos'd the whole Contribution, petitioning by general conſent, that the Informers ſhould rather be forc'd to refund whatever Rewards they had receiv'd.

45. Another thing was, that all the hatred which the People bare toward thoſe that made their Advantage of the publick ſcarſity of Corn and Proviſion fell upon *Nero*. For it unluckily fell out by accident, that in a time of publick Famin, a report was ſpread about, that there was a Ship arriv'd from *Alexandria*, which had brought nothing but Duſt for the Court Wreſtlers: Which incens'd the People to that degree, that there was no ſort of Reproach or Calumny which he was not forc'd to undergo. Upon the top of his Statue was plac'd a little Chariot with this Inſcription; *Here lyes the Streſs, now pull away.* About the Neck of another Statue they hung a Hair Bag with this Inſcription, *Alas what could I do? thou wouldſt deſerve the Parricides Sack for all me.* Upon the moſt publick Pillars of the City they wrote with Chalk and Coals, *He has wak'd the very * Cocks with his ſinging.* And in the night time ſeveral Perſons pretending to quarrel with their Servants would cry out a † *Vindex*, a *Vindex*.

* *Alluding to the word* Gallus, *which ſignifies as well a* French-man *as a* Cock.

† *Or a Perſon able to take his part. Alluding to the name of* Vindex, *who was at that time one of the Revolters.*

46. But

46. But these were things of small Importance to the Portents, Auspices, and frightful Omens, as well old as new that continually alarm'd him, though never wont to dream before. After he had murder'd his Mother, he had a Vision in his sleep, that the Helm of the Ship which he was steering, was wrested out of his Hands, and that he himself was haul'd by his Wife *Octavia* into a narrow Spot of hideous darkness; and that his Body was cover'd with a vast multitude of * winged Emmets; at other times that he was surrounded by the Images of the several Nations Dedicated to *Pompey*'s Theater, and stopp'd from proceeding any farther: That the hinder parts of a *Spanish* Gennet, in which he took an extraordinary delight, were transform'd into the shapes of a Monkey; and that having no Part or Member but his Head unmetamorphos'd, he seem'd to sing when he neighed. From the † *Mausoleum*, the Doors flying open of their own accord, a Voice was heard that summon'd him distinctly by his Name. Upon the Kalends of *January*, his Household Gods, while preparations were making for a solemn Sacrifice, fell down, and strew'd the Room with their fresh Ornamental Garlands. Another time, as he was consulting the Entrails of the Birds, *Sporus* presented him a Ring, upon which was engrav'd the *Rape of Proserpina*. Upon the day of making Vows for the Prosperity of the Prince, at what time all the *Orders* were met in a full Assembly, the Keys of the *Capitol* were hardly to be found. In his Declamation against *Vindex*, when he came at the Conclusion, to tell the Senate, *That the wicked Rebels would pay for their Disloyalty*

* *Signifying the Fury of the Rabble.*

† *Which Augustus had built in the Field of Mars, where Nero had enterr'd the Body of Poppæa, not consum'd with Fire, but embalm'd in haste.*

alty, and in a ſhort time, *Make an Exit ſuitable to their Actions*, it was obſerv'd that in Applauſe of his Speech, they all cry'd out, *Thou*, Auguſtus, *ſhalt make their Exit*. It was alſo taken notice of, that the laſt Tragedy which he acted in publick was *Oedipus Exil'd*, which concluded in theſe words.

Οὕτω μ' ἄνωγε σύγγαμος μήτης, πατής.

Thus Wife, thus Mother, and thus Father call
For merited Revenge, and I muſt fall.

47. In the mean time upon freſh Intelligence that the reſt of the Armies were revolted, he tore the Letters that were deliver'd him as he ſate at Dinner, overthrew the Table; and daſht againſt the ground two Chriſtal Glaſſes, in which he took a great delight, and call'd his *Homerics*, by reaſon of certain Verſes out of *Homer*, that were engrav'd upon them; and then calling to *Locuſta* for a Doſe of Poyſon, he put it into a Gold Box, and retir'd into the *Servilian Gardens*. From thence after he had diſpatch'd certain of his moſt truſty enfranchis'd Bond-men to *Oſtia*, to get ready a Fleet, he ſounded the *Prætorian* Tribunes and Centurions, to know whether they would accompany him in his flight; but ſome deſiring time to conſider, and others flatly denying, and among the reſt one ſingle Perſon upbraiding him with this Expreſſion,

Uſque adeone mori miſerum eſt?

Is it ſuch a terrible thing to dye?

He

He turmoil'd his Mind with various and uncertain thoughts, whether he ſhould throw himſelf at the Feet of *Galba*, or implore Succour from the *Parthians*; or whether it would not be his better way to put himſelf into Mourning, and publickly before the *Roſtra* with all the ſubmiſſion of a dejected Penitent, beg pardon of the People for his paſt Miſcarriages; and if he found them inexorable, to beſeech them at leaſt to grant him the Government of *Ægypt*. To which purpoſe he had a Speech ready writ, which was afterward found in his *Scrutore*. But ſome think he was deterr'd from that deſign, fearing he ſhould be torn Limb-meal before he got to the *Forum*. Thereupon waving thoſe thoughts till the next day, he wak'd about Midnight, and perceiving that his Guards were drawn off, he leapt out of his Bed, and ſent up and down for his Friends. But receiving no Anſwer from any of them, with ſome few Attendants he went himſelf to their Houſes, to call them up. But finding the Doors all ſhut, and no body riſing to let him in, he return'd to his Chamber; from whence by that time thoſe few of his Guards that remain'd behind were not only fled, but had carry'd away the very Bed-cloaths along with them, together with the Box of Poyſon; which put him into that deſpair, that he ſent for *Spicillus*, the *Mirmillonian Gladiator*, or any other Executioner to diſpatch him. But when there was none to be found, *What*, ſaid he, *have I neither Friends nor Enemies?* and with that away he ran, as if he would have thrown himſelf into *Tiber*.

48. But

48. But the violence of that Motion ſoon ceaſing, he made a ſtop, and began to conſider where he might find ſome more private lurking hole, where he might recollect his thoughts, and debate with himſelf what he had to do. Upon which, his enfranchis'd Bond-man *Phaon* offering him a Country Houſe of his, between the *Salarian* and *Nomentan* Roads about four Miles from the City, barefoot as he was, and only in his Waſtcoat, he threw an old ruſty Cloak over his Shoulders, and with his Head cover'd, and a thin Handkercher before his Face, he got a Horſe-back, with no more than four Perſons in his Company, among whom *Sporus* was one. But being terrify'd with a violent trembling of the Earth, and the Lightning that flaſh'd in his Face, as an addition to his Affliction, he heard a great noiſe in the *Prætorian* Camp among the Soldiers, curſing him and wiſhing all Proſperity to *Galba*. He alſo met ſeveral Travellers upon the Road, among which there was one that ſaid to his Companions, *Theſe Men are in purſuit of* Nero. Another ask'd, *What News concerning* Nero *in the City?* But his Horſe ſtarting at the ſight of a dead Carcaſs that lay ſtinking in the Highway, and ſhaking off his Handkercher from his Face, he was known by an old *Veterane* Soldier, and ſaluted by his Name. Therefore as ſoon as they came to the next Turning, quitting their Horſes, and betaking themſelves to the Brambles and Buſhes, and ſo through a blind Path in a Reed-ground, with great difficulty and many ſtops by the way, being forc'd to ſpread their Cloaths upon the ground for the eaſe of his Feet, he got to a Wall over againſt the

the Houſe. Where *Phaon* deſiring him to conceal himſelf a while in a Gravel Pit, till he could find a private conveyance for him into the Houſe, he made anſwer, *He would never be buried alive.* And therefore contented with what ſhelter he had, he ſtayd a while till *Phaon* return'd. And then it was, that being adry, he took up Water out of the next ditch, in the hollow of his hand, and having ſupp'd it up, *This*, ſaid he, *is* Nero's * *Boild Water.* After that, he pickt off the Brakes and Brambles that had torn his Cloak and ſtuck in the Cloth. And ſo creeping upon all four, through a narrow hole that was made in the Wall, he was receiv'd into the Houſe, and in the next Chamber he came at, threw himſelf upon an ordinary Flock-Bed, cover'd with an old Cloak. At what time finding himſelf both a hungry and dry, they brought him a ſort of ſtale brown Bread, which he refus'd, only drank a ſmall draught of luke-warm Water.

* *For it was* Nero's *Invention, to boyl his Water, and then to put it in a Glaſs, cover'd over with Snow to cool it. By which means, he had the pleaſure of the coolneſs without the prejudicial rawneſs of the Snow.*

49. Then every one importuning him to ſave himſelf from thoſe Affronts and Contumelies which every Moment threaten'd him, he order'd a Grave to be made in his Preſence exactly according to the dimenſions of his Body, and that what pieces of Marble could be found ſhould be laid together, and that Water and Wood ſhould be got ready for the waſhing and burning of his Body; weeping every time he caſt his Eye upon thoſe Funeral Preparations, and often crying out,

Qualis

Qualis Artifex Pereo?

What an Artiſt will the World loſe?

In the midſt of theſe delays, *Phaons* Meſſenger having brought him certain Letters, he ſnatch'd them out of his hand, and reading therein, *That the Senate had declar'd him an Enemy to the Publick, and that he was to be ſought after that he might be puniſh'd*, More Majorum, after the manner of ancient times, he ask'd what ſort of Puniſhment that was? and being anſwer'd, that the Perſon was to be ſtripp'd naked, that his Neck was to be faſten'd in a Forked Stick, and in that poſture to be whipp'd to death, he was ſo terrify'd that he ſnatch'd up two Daggers which he brought along with him; but after he had felt the Edges of both, he ſheath'd them again, pretending, *His fatal Hour was not yet come.* Then dallying with his end, ſometimes he deſir'd *Sporus* to begin his Moans and Lamentations; by and by he would deſire ſome one of the Company to ſhew him the way to dye by his Example. And by and by he would chaſtize his own Puſillanimity with theſe Expreſſions.

Vivo deformiter, ac Turpiter.

I live, 'tis true, but baſely and wretchedly miſerable.

Οὐ πρέπει Νέρωνι, ὦ πρέπει; νήφειν δεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις· ἄγε, ἔγειρε σαυτόν.

It does not become thee, Nero, *it does not become thee: Occaſions like theſe, require quick and ſober thoughts, Up then, Cou-rage, and rouſe thy ſelf.* And now the Horſe-men were at hand with poſitive

positive Command to bring him back to *Rome*, alive if possible. Which so soon as he perceiv'd, with a trembling Voice uttering the following *Greek* Verse,

Ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος ἆσσα βάλλει.

I hear the swift-heel'd Coursers beat the Ground,
That with their deadly noise my Ears confound.

He clapt the Dagger to his Throat, *Epaphroditus*, the Master of his Requests assisting his fainting hand to thrust it home. Nor was he above half dead, when a Centurion brake in, and clapt his Coat to the wound, pretending as if he came to his Relief; to whom he said no more then only, *'Tis too late*, and, *Is this your Allegiance?* and so saying he expir'd; his Eyes being suddenly fix'd, and staring in his Head even to the Terror and Affright of those that beheld him. The first thing, and that which he most earnestly desir'd of his Friends was, to preserve his Head upon his Body, to the end he might be burnt entire. Which was freely granted by *Icelus*, one of *Galba*'s enfranchiz'd Bondmen, lately releas'd out of Prison, whether he had been committed upon the first news of his Masters Revolt.

50. He was burnt at the expence of Five thousand Crowns, his body being wrapt up in white Silk Coverlets interwoven with Gold, the same that he had made use of in the Calends of *January* before. His Ashes were gather'd up by his Nurses, *Ecloge* and *Alexandria*, and his Concubine *Acte*, and deposited in the Monument of the *Domitii*, from whence he was descended; which is still to be seen from the

the Field of *Mars*, built upon the Hill that overlooks the *Little Gardens*: In which Monument there is a Trough of Porphyrie, at the Foot of an Altar of * *Luna* Marble, and all encompaſs'd with † *Thaſian* Stone.

* *Or a kind of* Genoa *Marble.*

† *Speckl'd Marble.*

51. His Stature was almoſt of an exact hight. The Skin of his Body freckl'd and ſpotted even to deformity; his Hair inclining to red; his Countenance rather fair than handſom; his Eyes grey and dull of ſight; fat Neck'd; his Belly ſwagging and prominent; his Legs very ſmall; but of very a healthy Conſtitution. For though he were immoderately Intemperate and Luxurious, he never was ill but three times in Fourteen years; and that ſo ſlightly that he neither abſtain'd from Wine, nor his accuſtom'd Debauſhery. In his Garb and Habit ſhameleſly fordid. Inſomuch that when he went his Progreſs into *Achaia*, he ſuffer'd his Hair to grow longer behind than before, curl'd into Rings one above another; and for the moſt part he he appear'd in publick in a ‖ Morning Gown, without either Girdle or Shoes.

‖ *Or a ſort of Effeminate careleſs, looſe Garment, ſuch as they us'd to wear when they Lay down to Supper or Dinner, which was call'd* Syntheſis, *no way becoming the Majeſty of an Emperor when he apppeard abroad.*

52. He had a ſmackering of all the Liberal Sciences when he was a Boy. But his Mother put him out of conceit with Philoſophy, telling him, it was below a Perſon that deſign'd to be an Emperor. And *Seneca* diverted him from the knowledg of the ancient Orators, that he might keep him the longer in Admiration of himſelf. Therefore being naturally addicted to Poetry, he made Verſes very willingly and with little Pains. Neither did he ever publiſh,

as

as ſome believe, other Mens Works inſtead of his own. Some rough Draughts of his Compoſition fell into my hands, and ſeveral Copies of Verſes of his own writing well known to be his, ſo blotted and interlin'd, that it was apparent they could neither be tranſcrib'd or dictated by any other Perſon, but were his own Fancies alter'd upon diſlike by himſelf.

53. He alſo took great delight in Painting, and Plaiſter of *Paris-work*. In which he affected to be Popular above all things; as being emulous of all Men that gaind the Applauſe and Approbation of the vulgar. It was generally believ'd, that after he had won all the Honours he could in the Theater, he would have gone the next Luſter, or the next five years, to have try'd his Fortune at the *Olimpick* Games, among the Wreſtlers. For he practis'd Wreſtling continually; ſo that all the while he was in *Greece*, he never would behold the *Gymnick* Sports, but ſitting upon the ground within the Liſts, among thoſe that were appointed to give the Prizes; and if any of the Gameſters gave too much back, he would thruſt them forward again with his own hands. And believing that he was already equal to *Apollo* for ſinging, and to the *Sun* for Chariot-driving, at length he deſign'd to try whether he could out do *Hercules*. To which purpoſe they report, that there was a Lion prepar'd, which he was to have encounter'd naked, and either to have kill'd with his Club, or to have throttl'd with both his Arms, before all the People in the Amphitheater.

54. Toward the latter end of his Reign he had publickly vow'd, if he held the Empire

safe and secure, in Commemoration of his Victory, to grace his Plays with *Hydraulicks* or Water Musick, and *Choraulicks*, or Chorus's of several Parts with Symphonies and Thorough-Bases; moreover, that he would have the Bagpipes, and that the last day he would Act himself and Dance *Turnus* in *Virgil*. And some report, that *Paris* the *Actor*, was by him put to death, as an Adversary that he was mortally jealous of.

55. He was infinitely Ambitious of Fame and Immortality, though he took the wrong Course to acquire it. For which reason he alter'd the Names of several things and places, to the end they might be call'd by his own. For which reason it was, that he call'd the Month of April *Neroneus*; and that he had a design to have call'd *Rome*, *Neropolis*.

56. He was a Contemner of all Religions, and all the Deities except the *Syrian Goddess*; though at length he so despis'd her that he piss'd upon her Statue; as being then ingag'd in another sort of Superstition, wherein he persisted constant to the last. For that being presented with a mean and inconsiderable Person with a little Image of a Virgin, as a Spell against all Conspiracies, and a Conspiracy happening to be immediately afterwards detected, always after that he held that Image for the most supream Deity, and constantly sacrific'd to it three times a day; and endeavour'd to have it believ'd among the People, that by her discovery all things to come were reveal'd to him. However some Months before his death he Consulted the Entrails of Beasts according to the usual Formalities, but met with nothing there

there but what was fatally Ominous aud dreadful.

57. He dy'd in the Thirty ſecond year of his Age, upon the very day that he had put *Octavia* to death. And ſuch was the univerſal joy upon the news of his End, that the People ran about the Streets with their Caps of Manumiſſion, in token of their recover'd Freedom. And yet there were ſome, that for a long time adorn'd his Tomb with all manner of Garlands which either Spring or Summer did afford. Others would many times ſet up his Images dreſt up in Purple before the *Roſtra*; while others affix'd his Edicts upon the Publick Columns, as if he had been ſtill alive, and would in a ſhort time return to the Confuſion of his Enemies. Moreover, *Vologeſus*, King of the *Parthians*, having ſent his Embaſſadors to the Senate to renew his allyance, with great importunity preſs'd, that *Nero*'s Memory might be held in Veneration, and recommended to Poſterity. Laſtly, whereas above twenty years ago, when I was a Boy, there was a certain Perſon, whoſe Condition and Quality were both obſcure and unknown, who gave himſelf out to be *Nero*, his Name was ſo grateful to the *Parthians*, that they eſpous'd his Quarrel, vigorouſly aſſiſted him, and were reduc'd to great Extremity before they would deliver him up to the Senate.

SER. SULPICIUS. GALBA

THE LIFE OF SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.

In the Year after the City built 831.

Done into *Engliſh* by *N. B.* Gent.

1. THE Line of the *Cæſars* fail'd in *Nero*: Which that it would ſo come to paſs, was foreboded by ſeveral, but among the reſt by two moſt evident Signs. For in times paſt as *Livia*, preſently after her Nuptials with *Auguſtus*, was riding to her Country Palace, call'd by the Name of *Veientanum*, an Eagle flying by, let fall into her Lap a white Hen holding a ſmall Laurel Branch in her Bill, in the ſame Poſture as the Bird of Prey had ſeiz'd her. Upon which, after ſhe had given order that the Pullet ſhould be carefully bred up, and that the Laurel Branch ſhould be ſet in the Ground, ſuch numerous Broods of Chickens enſu'd, that the Village is call'd to this day * *ad Gallinas*; and ſuch a Grove of Laurels

* Plinie *makes mention of this Village, and deſcribes it ſeated upon the River* Tiber, *nine miles from* Rome, *in the* Flaminian *Road.*

ſprung from the Branch, that the *Cæſars*, when they were to triumph, gather'd their Wreaths from thence; and it was the Cuſtom of thoſe that triumph'd to plant other Laurels preſently in the ſame place. More than this, it was obſerv'd that upon the Death of the ſucceeding Emperors, the Tree which was by any one particularly ſupply'd, immediately wither'd away. But in the laſt year of *Nero*'s Reign, not only the whole Grove became Sapleſs from the very Root and periſh'd, but all the Poultry in the Village pin'd away and dy'd. In the next place, the * Temple of the *Cæſars* being ſtruck with Thunder from Heaven, the Heads of the ſeveral Statues fell altogether to the Ground; and the Scepter of *Auguſtus* was ſhaken out of his hand.

* *What he means by the Temple of the Cæſars the Learned queſtion. Some think it to have been the Temple of* Venus Genitrix, *in regard the Cæſars deſcended from* Venus *by* Eneas.

2. To *Nero* ſucceeded *Galba*, no way related to the Family of the *Cæſars*; but without queſtion a Perſon of great Nobility, and of an Illuſtrious and ancient Deſcent, as he who always among the Titles of his Statues wrote himſelf the Great Grand-Child of *Q. Catulus* † *Capitolinus*. Afterwards when he came to be Emperor, he hung up his Pedigree in the *Portico* of his Palace, wherein he deriv'd his Original by the Fathers ſide from *Jove* himſelf; by the Mothers ſide from *Paſiphae*, the Wife of *Minos*. It would be too tedious to give an accompt of the Images and Elogies relating of the whole Race; what concerns the Family in particular I ſhall conciſely touch upon.

† *So Sirnam'd, becauſe he was the Author of repairing the Capitol, and of its Conſecration.*

3. Who was the firſt among the *Sulpicii* that aſſum'd the Sirname of *Galba*, wherefore, or from whence he deriv'd it, is much diſputed. Some

Some there are who believe that he burnt a Town in *Spain* with Fagots beſmear'd with *Galbanum*, and by that means took the Place, after it had been long beſieg'd and aſſail'd in vain. Others, becauſe that in a long decay of Health, he wore about his Wriſts certain Remedies wrapt up in Wooll, in the form of a Bracelet, call'd *Galbeum*. Others, becauſe he was ſomewhat fat and burly, in regard that ſuch a one the *Gauls* call * *Galba*. Or elſe quite the contrary, becauſe he was ſo extreamly ſlender, that they reſembl'd him to thoſe ſort of Worms that breed in Trees and dry Wood, and are call'd *Galbæ*. *Servius Galba*, a Perſon of Conſular Dignity, advanc'd the Glory of the Family, the moſt Eloquent Orator of his Time. Of whom it is reported, that having obtain'd *Spain* for his Province by vertue of his Prætorſhip, he put to the Sword perfidiouſly no leſs than Thirty thouſand of the *Luſitanians*, which occaſion'd the Rebellion of *Viriatus*. His Grand-child, for being put by the Conſulſhip, exaſperated againſt *Julius Cæſar*, whoſe Legate he had been in *Gaul*, enter'd into the Conſpiracy with *Caſſius* and *Brutus*; for which he was condemn'd by the †*Pedian* Law. From him deſcended the Grand-father and Father of the Emperor *Galba*. As for his Grand-father he was much more eminent for his Learning, than remarkable in Dignity; for never advancing beyond the Degree of a *Prætor*, he ſet forth a General Hiſtory, that ſhew'd the Induſtry and Curioſity of the Author. His Father, after he had been honour'd with the Conſulſhip, though ſhort of Stature, Crook-backt, and but of a mean and ordinary utterance, became

* *At this day* Galbé *in* French *ſignifies a Wen; and the ſame word ſignifies comely or in good plight.*

† *By which all that had a hand in Cæſar's Death were interdicted the uſe of Fire and Water.*

an

an Induſtrious Pleader at the Bar. He had for his Wives *Mummia Achaica*, the Grand-daughter to *Catulus*, Great Grand-daughter to *L. Mummius* who ſackt *Corinth*, alſo *Livia Ocellina*, extreamly rich, and incomparably beautiful; by whom for the ſake of his great Nobility he ſeem'd to have been courted, and that with a more than ordinary ardency; for that notwithſtanding upon her importunity, he diſcover'd to her in private the defect of his Body, that he might not be thought to have deceiv'd her Ignorance, yet ſhe would not be gainſaid. By *Achaica* he had two Sons, *Caius* and *Servius*: Of which the Eldeſt *Caius*, after he had waſted his Fortunes, forſook the City; and becauſe *Tiberius* would not ſuffer him to take the Benefit of his Lot for the choice of a Proconſulſhip in his year, he dy'd a voluntary death.

4. The Emperor *Galba* was born in the year that *M. Valerius Meſſalla*, and *Cn. Lentulus* were Conſuls, the Ninth of the Kalends of *January*, in a Village that lyes under the Hill neer *Terracina* upon the left hand as ye ride to * *Fundi*. Being adopted by his Mother-in-Law, he aſſum'd the Name of *Livius*, and the Sirname of *Ocella*; for he ſtill call'd himſelf *Lucius*, inſtead of *Servius*, till the time of his Reign. Certain it is, that *Auguſtus*, while *Galba* was yet a Child, and came to kiſs his Hands among the reſt of his Playfellows, gently nipping his Cheeks, is ſaid to have utter'd theſe words, καὶ σὺ τέκνον ἡμῶν ἄρξῃς. *And thou my Son ſhalt alſo taſte of our Imperial Command.* *Tiberius* likewiſe, when he found that he ſhould come to the Empire, though not till he was ſtricken in years, *Let him live*, ſaid he, *ſince it nothing*

* *Now* Fondi *in the Kingdom of* Naples.

nothing concerns us. At another time while his Grand-father was attoning the Anger of the Gods after a Great Thunder, an Eagle ſnatch'd out of his hands the Entrails of the Sacrifice, and carry'd them into an Oak full of Acorns; upon which it was anſwer'd by the *Augurs*, that the Supream Imperial Dignity was portended to his Family, though not till very late. To which the old Man ſmiling reply'd, *That will be when the Mule has brought forth.* Nor did any thing more confirm *Galba* in his Attempts upon the Government, then the foling of a Mule, which while others deteſted as an obſcene Prodigy, he lookt upon it as a moſt joyful Omen, calling to mind the Sacrifice, and ſaying of his Grand-father. So ſoon as he had aſſum'd the Garment of Man-hood, he dreamt that Fortune ſpeaking to him made her Complaints, *That ſhe ſtood weary without Doors; and that unleſs ſhe were ſuddenly let in, ſhe ſhould become a Prey to the next that ſaw her.* Thereupon waking he roſe and open'd the Street-door and found a Brazen Statue of the Goddeſs lying neer the Threſhold, ſomewhat above a Cubit in length; which he took up, and carry'd in his Arms to *Tuſculum*, where he ſpent the Summer. And after he had plac'd it in a * peculiar part of his Houſe Conſecrated for that purpoſe, he afterwards Worſhip'd with monthly Supplications, and with an annual *Vigil.* And though he were not as yet arriv'd at that age of Maturity, yet he moſt obſtinately obſerv'd the old and obſolete Cuſtom of the City, and only us'd in his own Houſe, that his Freed-men and Servants ſhould twice a day make their appearance before him, and give him the *Good Morrow* and *Good Night.*

* *Hence came the Cuſtom of placing a Golden Statue of Fortune in the Bed-Chambers of the ſucceeding Emperors.*

5. He

5. He ſtudy'd with great diligence the Liberal Sciences and the Law. Then he made it his buſineſs to marry; but having loſt his Wife *Lepida*, and two Daughters which he had by her, he remain'd a Widower, nor could be ſollicited to marry again upon any Conditions; no, not by *Agrippina* her ſelf, ſoon after a Widow by the death of *Domitius*, who had ſo importunately tempted him while his Wife was yet living, that in an Aſſembly of Matrons ſhe was not only ſeverely chid, but receiv'd a blow from the hand of her Mother *Lepida*. He had a great Veneration for *Livia Auguſta*, with whom when alive he was in great favour and eſteem, and had like to have been greatly enrich'd by her Will, after her deceaſe: For ſhe had bequeath'd him the largeſt Legacy of all that ſhe had given to the reſt of the Legatees, to the value of a Hunder'd and five and twenty thouſand Crowns in Gold. But becauſe the Sum was ſet down in Figures only and not in Words at length, *Tiberius*, the Heir at Law, reduc'd it to Twelve thouſand Five hunder'd Crowns, which he never paid him neither.

6. Being advanc'd to great Honours before his time, he was Prætor when the *Floral* Plays were Celebrated, at what time he grac'd the publick Shows with Elephants that danc'd upon the Ropes, a ſort of Spectacle never ſeen before in *Rome*. Afterwards he was Preſident of the Province of *Aquitain* for almoſt a whole year, and ſoon after he bore the Office of Conſul in due order of time. Wherein it ſo fell out, that he himſelf ſucceeded *L. Domitius*, the

* Flora, *a Curteſan, having got a vaſt Eſtate by proſtituting her Body, left the People of* Rome *her Heir, together with the uſe of a Large Sum of Money for the Celebration of her Birth-day.*

the Father of *Nero*, and *Salvius Otho*, the Father of *Otho*, ſucceeded him; as it were a Preſage of the following accident, of his being Emperor between the two Sons. Being ſubſtituted Lord Lieutenant of *Germany* in the room of * *Lentulus Getulicus*, the next day that he came to the Legions, he check'd the Soldiers for too loudly clapping their Hands at a publick Spectacle, giving out his Commands, *That they ſhould keep their Hands within their Coats.* Thereupon it was a ſaying preſently diſperc'd throughout the whole Camp,

* *Put to death by* Caius, *becauſe he was in Favour with the Soldiers.*

Learn Soldier Martial Diſcipline.
'Tis Galba, *not* Gætulicus.

With the ſame ſeverity he forbid the Soldiers to crave Diſmiſſions. Both the *Veterans* and Raw Soldiers he harden'd with daily Labour and Exerciſe. And having ſeaſonably repell'd the *Barbarians*, who had already broken into *Gallia*, he gave to *Caius*, then preſent, ſuch ample ſatisfaction, both as to himſelf and the Army, that among all thoſe vaſt numbers drawn together out of ſeveral Provinces, there was not one that required † a Teſtimonial from his General, nor appeal'd to the Emperor for larger Rewards. In this more eſpecially remarkable, that having undertaken a Field-Race with his Shield upon his Shoulder, he ran twenty miles an end by the Emperors Chariot.

† *It was a Cuſtom for the Soldiers to beg and receive ſlight Rewards from the General under whom they ſerv'd; Rewards of greater moment, were at the diſpoſal of the Emperor himſelf. In the diſtribution of which he was govern'd by the Characters given by the Generals and Legates.*

7. When he heard of the murder of *Caius*, though by many ſpurr'd on to lay hold of the opportunity, he preferr'd his

his own eaſe. For which he was highly acceptable to *Claudius*, and being admitted into the Gang of his intimate Friends, was ſo greatly by him eſteem'd, that upon his falling ſuddenly ill, though without any danger, the day appointed for the *Britiſh* Expedition was put off. He govern'd *Africa* for two years together, Proconſul of the Province, extrajudicially elected to ſettle thoſe Countries diſturb'd with Civil Diſſentions and Rebellion of the *Barbarians*: Where he order'd all things with great obſervance of Severity and Juſtice even in ſmall and petty Matters. A Soldier being convicted upon an Expedition, when Proviſion was very ſhort, to have ſold a Buſhel of Wheat, the remainder of his Victuals, for a Hunder'd Denaries, when he came to want Food, he forbad any one to relieve him; ſo that the poor Fellow was famiſh'd to death. Then again in the determination of Law Suits he was very acute; for upon a diſpute concerning the Propriety of a Horſe, the arguments and evidence on both ſides being but ſlight, and conſequently the truth not eaſie to be diſcover'd, he order'd that the Horſe ſhould be led blindfold to the Lake where he was uſually water'd, and then being unblinded, that he ſhould belong to the Perſon to whom he ſhould betake himſelf after he had drank.

8. Therefore for what he had done both then in *Africa*, and formerly in *Germany*, he receiv'd Triumphal Ornaments, and was honour'd with the High Prieſthood a third time; being admitted into the Colleges of the * Fifteen, the

* *The* Pontiffs *were at firſt but four appointed by* Numa, *to which afterwards four more were added; to whom laſtly* Sylla *added ſeven others, which made up the number of Fifteen*

* *Titii*,

Titii, and *Auguſtals*. From which time to the middle of *Nero*'s Reign, he liv'd for the moſt part a retir'd Life. Nor did he ever undertake a Journey, though it were but for pleaſure, but he had always attending another Chariot which follow'd his own, laden with Gold, to a conſiderable Sum; till at length coming to reſide at *Fundi*, that part of *Spain* call'd *Tarraconenſis* was offer'd him; (containing now *Arragon*, *Caſtile* and *Catalonia*) where it ſo happen'd, that as he was Sacrificing in a publick Houſe upon his Entry into the Province, a little Boy who aſſiſted at the Ceremony, holding the Cenſor, of a ſudden turn'd quite grey. Nor were there wanting thoſe who made a ſwift Interpretation of the Prodigy, that it ſignify'd a great Alteration of Affairs, and that he in his old age ſhould ſucceed a young Man; that is to ſay, that he ſhould prove Succeſſor to *Nero*. Nor was it long after, that Lightning fell into the Lake of *Cantabria*, after which there were no leſs than twelve Axes found in the Water, a certain Sign of Supream Empire.

* *The* Titii *were another ſort of Religious Men that liv'd in the Suburbs of the City, and prakis'd Soothſaying; ſo call'd from the Birds which they obſerv'd in* Latin *call'd* Titia.

9. For ſeveral years together he govern'd the Province variouſly and with an unequal Temper: At firſt ſharp, vehement, and exceſſive in puniſhing Offences; for he caus'd a Bankers hand to be cut off and nail'd to his Table, for falſifying his Truſt in telling out Money; and order'd a Tutor to be Crucify'd for poyſoning his Pupil, to whom he was the next Heir; and when the Criminal implor'd the Benefit of the Law, and atteſted himſelf to be a Citizen of *Rome*, as it were to alleviate the puniſhment with a more than uſual Honour, he commanded the Croſs to be chang'd, and another much higher

higher and whited over, to be erected in its Room. Afterwards he gave himself up by degrees to ſloth and idleneſs, that he might not afford any occaſion of Jealouſie to *Nero*; and as he was wont to ſay, becauſe no Man is bound to give an accompt of his lazineſs. While he was ſitting in Judgment at new *Carthage*, he heard that both *Gallia's* were up in Arms; at what time, the Legate of *Aquitain* imploring his aid, preſently there came Letters from * *Vindex*, full of importunate Incentives, *To bethink himſelf of preparing at length to be the Captain and Revenger of Mankind.* Nor was he long deliberating before he receiv'd the Condition, partly through fear, partly encourag'd by his hopes. For he had intelligence already of *Nero's* Commands ſent to his Treaſurers to diſpatch him out of the World. On the other ſide he was encourag'd as well by manifeſt Signs and Omens of Proſperity, as by the Propheſie of a chaſt and vertuous Virgin; and that, ſo much the more, by reaſon that the Prieſt of *Jupiter* worſhip'd in *Clunia*, warn'd in a Dream, had digg'd up the ſame Verſes in the moſt ſecret part of the Temple, as they had been utter'd by another Virgin Propheteſs above Two hunder'd years before: The ſence of which Verſes was this, *That the time would come, when there ſhould ariſe out of* Spain *a Prince and Lord of all the World.*

* *Then Governour of* Gallia.

10. Therefore after he had aſcended the Tribunal, as having deſign'd that day to hear Petitions for the Manumiſſion of Slaves, in the firſt place he caus'd to be brought into Court the Statues of ſeveral Perſons condemn'd and murder'd by *Nero*, and placing next his own ſeat a young

young Lad of Noble Extraction, whom he had ſent for from the neighbouring * *Balearic* Iſlands, whither he had been † Exil'd, he deplor'd the ſad Condition of the Times, and being ſaluted Emperor, however he would acknowledge himſelf no more then the Senates and the *Roman* Peoples General. Then Proclaiming a general Vacation, he liſted Legions and Auxilaries out of the common People of the Province, to reinforce the *Veterane* Army, that conſiſted of no more than one Legion, two Wings, and three Cohorts; and out of the chiefeſt Officers moſt eminent for their Wiſdom, and grown in years, he ſelected a kind of Senate, with whom to conſult upon occaſions of greater importance, ſo often as need ſhould require. He alſo made choice of ſeveral young Gentlemen, in the Degree of Knighthood, who being ſtill permitted to wear their Gold Rings, ſhould be call'd ‖ *Evocati*, or *Squires of the Body*, and were to keep Guard before his Bed-Chamber inſtead of the Common Soldiers. He alſo ſent forth his Edicts through all the Provinces, reſolving to engage as well all in general as particular Perſons, to the end that all might be ready to aſſiſt the Common Cauſe to the utmoſt of their Power. Much about the ſame time, as they were digging up the Earth for the fortification of the Town, which he had made choice of to be the ſeat of the War, was found a Ring, with a Gem wherein was ingrav'd Victory with a Trophy, and which appear'd to be an ancient piece of Workmanſhip, and immediately after a Veſſel of *Alexandria* dropt into

* *Either* Majorca *or* Minorca.

† *For upon the detection of the* Piſonian *Conſpiracy the Children of thoſe that were found guilty were expell'd the City, and either poyſon'd or famiſh'd to death.*

‖ *The* Evocati *were Veterane Soldiers, who after they had ſerv'd out their time, were liſted again by the particular favour of the Conſuls and Generals, in order to their farther preferment, and ſerving only about their Perſons, were equall'd with the Centurions.*

the Port of * *Dertoſa*, laden with Arms, there being neither Pilot, Seaman or Paſſenger aboard; ſo that there was no body that queſtion'd the Juſtice of the Cauſe, but look'd upon the War as Sacred and acceptable to the Gods. When of a ſudden a ſtrange Confuſion happen'd that had like to have ſhatter'd the whole Frame of the Deſign: For one of the Wings repenting the change of their Allegiance, endeavour'd to deſert him as he was juſt approaching to the Camp; ſo that he had much ado to retain them within the Bounds of their duty: And the Servants which one of *Nero*'s Freed-men had preſented him already prepar'd for Treachery, were very neer murdering him, as he was paſſing through a narrow Turning to the Baths; but while they made a noiſe exhorting one another not to loſe the occaſion, and gave no ſatisfaction to thoſe that demanded what they meant, they were apprehended, and being put to the Rack confeſs'd the Treaſon.

* *Now* Tortoſa *in* Catalonia.

11. Upon the neck of theſe diſturbances and dangers, ſo narrowly eſcap'd, the death of *Vindex* happen'd, which diſmay'd him more than all the reſt, inſomuch that like a Perſon forlorn he was within a very little of making away himſelf. But Meſſengers immediately coming poſt from the City to him, with news that *Nero* was ſlain, and that all the People had ſworn Allegiance to him, laying aſide the Appellation of GENERAL, he aſſum'd the Title of CÆSAR; and when he travell'd he rode always clad with the Military † *Paludamentum*, and his Dagger hanging from his Neck upon his Breaſt.

† *Which was a Military Garment that only the Lord General was wont to wear, not only guarded with Purple, but with Scarlet and Gold Lace. Some think it reſembled in ſome ſort our Heralds Coat of Armt.*

breaſt. Nor did he return to the uſe of his Gown, until he had ruin'd at *Rome* *Nymphidius Sabinus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands; *Fonteius Capito* in *Germany*, and *Clodius Macrus* in *Africa*, who were all three Conſpiring new alterations in Government.

12. There was a report of his Cruelty and Covetouſneſs, which had reach'd the City before his arrival; upon theſe grounds, that he had puniſh'd ſeveral Cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, ſome with heavy Impoſitions; others by throwing down their Walls for the cautious delay of their ſubmiſſion to him; that he had put to death ſeveral of *Nero*'s Overſeers and Treaſurers, together with their Wives and Children; that he had melted a Crown of Gold weighing no leſs than fifteen Pound, which the *Tarraconenſians* had taken out of the ancient Temple of *Jupiter*; and becauſe there wanted three Ounces of the weight upon the melting, he laid a Tax upon the People to make it up. This report was not only confirm'd but encreas'd ſo ſoon as he enter'd the City: For having reſolv'd to reduce the Sea-men, whom *Nero* had liſted into the number of real Soldiers, to their former Condition, when they ſtood upon their terms, and obſtinately demanded their Eagle and their Enſigns, he not only ſent in his Horſe-Guards among them to quell and diſſipate them, but hung up every tenth Man. He alſo diſbanded the Cohort of *Germans*, formerly enroll'd by the *Cæſars*, for the Guard of their Bodies, and of long try'd Fidelity, and ſent them back to their own Country without any ſatisfaction for their Service, as more favouring *Cn. Dolabella*, neer to whoſe Gardens they had

pitch'd their Tents. And it was nois'd abroad in deriſion of him, whether true or falſe, that he wept to ſee a Supper brought him up, more ſumptuous than uſual. Another time that his ordinary Steward brought him an Abſtract of the Imperial Expences, he reach'd him from his Table a Platter of boil'd Peaſe for his ſedulity and dilligence. To *Canus* the Flute-player, that wonderfully pleas'd his Fancy, he gave five * *Denaries*, which he fetch'd himſelf with his own hands out of his peculiar Cabinet.

* *Worth about two Shillings, or a* Dutch *Florin.*

13. Therefore his arrival was not altogether ſo acceptable to the People; and that moſt evidently appear'd upon the firſt publick Show. At what time the † *Atellans* having begun a moſt known Song, or rather Ballad,

† *So call'd from* Atella *a City of* Campania. *A ſort of Lampooning Players, that play'd upon the Vices of the Times without regard to the Quality of the Perſon.*

Venit io ſimus a villa.

Give room, give room,
Here's Flatnoſe from the Country come.

All the Spectators ſetting up their Throats together went on with the reſt of the words, and acted and repeated the Verſe over and over again for ſeveral times together. So that he obtain'd the Empire with more Applauſe and Authority than he held it; though he might be ſaid to give many Proofs of a moſt excellent Prince; but thoſe were not ſo grateful, as what he did amiſs was look'd upon with an Eye of ſcandal and hatred. He was altogether over-rul'd and govern'd by three Perſons, who living together within the Walls of the Palace, and never ſtirring from his Elbow, were commonly call'd his *Pædagogues*. Theſe were *T. Vinius*, his

his Legate in *Spain*, immenſly rapacious; *Cornelius Laco*, from an * *Aſſeſſor* or Judges Aſſiſtant advanc'd to be Lord Chamberlain or Governour of the Palace, intolerable for his Arrogance and his lazy ſluggiſh Humour: And the third *Icelus* his enfranchis'd Bond-ſlave, honour'd a little before with Gold Rings, and the Sirname of *Martianus*, and now a Competitor for the higheſt † Degree belonging to the Order of Knight-hood. To theſe Men, in whom Vices of various Natures impetuouſly rag'd, he ſo entirely gave himſelf up to be abus'd and flatter'd, that he was hardly his own Man: Sometimes more ſevere and ſparing; ſometimes more remiſs and negligent than became an Elected Prince and a Perſon of his Age. He condemn'd unheard certain Eminent Perſonages of both Orders upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpition imaginable. The Freedom of the City he rarely beſtow'd upon any Man. The Privileges due to thoſe that had * begot three Children he would hardly grant, either to thoſe that were free or thoſe that were not free; or if he were ſo kind to a Citizen, 'twas only for a certain prefix'd time. He not only deny'd the ſuit of the Judges, who petition'd that a ſixth † *Decury* might be added, but alſo took from them the Privilege which *Claudius* had allow'd them, that they ſhould not be ſummon'd to duty neither in the Winter nor beginning of the year.

* *Aſſeſſors were much like our Maſters in Chancery that ſit as Aſſiſtants to the Chancellor.*

† *Which was to be Controller of the Houſhold.*

* *Among the* Romans *thoſe that had begot three Children were freed from all manner of Duties.*

† *The Judges that aſſiſted the* Prætor *in hearing Cauſes were divided into ſo many* Decuries, *or Companies, who were to be ready to aſſiſt the* Prætor *upon Summons; and theſe Judges were choſen out of the ſeveral Tribes of the City by the* Prætor *himſelf.*

15. It was alſo thought that within two years he would have put an end to all the *Senatorian*

and *Equeſtrian* Dignities, which he would have return'd to none but ſuch as were * unwilling or refus'd to accept them. *Nero*'s Liberalities, allowing no more than the Tenths, he order'd to be revok'd and redemanded by fifty *Roman* Knights, upon this Condition, that if the Comœdians or Wreſtlers had ſold any thing which had been formerly beſtow'd upon them, it ſhould be taken away from the Buyers, if the others having ſpent the Money could not repay it. On the other ſide, there was nothing which he did not ſuffer to be put to ſale, or given away for favour by his Aſſociates and enfranchis'd Bond-men, abatement of Tributes, Immunities, Puniſhments of the Innocent, and Impunities to the Criminal. Moreover when the People of *Rome* demanded that *Halotus* and *Tigellinus* might be put to death, them alone, the moſt wicked of all *Nero*'s Emiſſaries, he ſecur'd and protected; and more than that, he honour'd *Halotus* with an ample Procuration; and in favour of *Tigellinus*, by an Edict he upbraided the People for their ſeverity.

* *In which he was imitated by* Alexander *the* Roman *Emperor, who was wont to ſay, that the unwilling, not ſuch as courted high Employments were to be plac'd at the Helm of the Commonwealth.*

16. For theſe things he was diſguſted by all the Degrees and Orders of the *Roman* People, but more eſpecially hated among the Soldiers. For when his Commiſſioners, appointed for that purpoſe, had promis'd a larger Donative than ordinary to the Soldiers when they came to ſwear Allegiance to him in his abſence, he refus'd to confirm the Promiſe of his Friends, frequently boaſting, *That it was his cuſtom to raiſe his Soldiers, not to purchaſe them.* Which ſaying of his exaſperated the Soldiery in all parts of the Empire. Beſides he anger'd the *Prætorians* by overawing and affronting them; making

making frequent removes of the greateſt part of them, upon every ſlight ſuſpicion of their fidelity, as addicted to *Nymphidius*. But above all the reſt, the Army in upper *Germany* fum'd and chafed, to be defrauded of the Rewards which they had merited for their faithful Service againſt the *Gauls* and *Vindex*. Therefore they were the firſt that preſuming to break their Allegiance, upon the Kalends of *January* refus'd to be ſworn to any other than the Senate. Which done, they immediately appointed Commiſſioners to the *Pretorian* Bands, with Orders to let them know, *That they did not like an Emperor made in* Spain, *and therefore that they themſelves would chooſe a Man whom all the Armies ſhould approve.*

17. Of which when *Galba* had intelligence, believing he was grown into Contempt, not ſo much for his Age, as for his want of Iſſue, he preſently ſingles out from the midſt of the Croud of thoſe that came to pay their Salutations to him, *Piſo Licinianus*, a Noble young Gentleman, and of Eminent Parts, for whom he had formerly an extraordinary Affection, and therefore had all along put him into his Will as Heir to his Perſonal Eſtate and Name, and calling him Son, he carry'd him to the Camp, and there, before a full Aſſembly of Officers and Soldiers Adopted him; yet not then ſo much as uttering the leaſt word of any intended Donative; which gave *M. Salvius Otho* the more eaſie oportunity to bring about his deſign within ſix days after the Adoption.

18. Remarkable and daily were the Prodigies that now from the beginning portended the Exit which befel him. For as he was upon the

Road, at what time Sacrifices were ſlain in all the Towns on every ſide in honour of his approach, a Bull being ſcar'd with the blow of the Ax, and breaking his Halter, violently run againſt his Chariot, and rearing up his fore Feet beſmear'd the Emperor with his Blood; and preſently after, as he was alighting from his Chariot, one of the Penſioners of his Guard, being crouded forward by the Multitude, had like to have wounded him with his Javelin. And no ſooner was he paſs'd through the City, but he was welcom'd to his Palace, with an Earthquake and ſubterraneal bellowing of the Wind coop'd up within the Bowels of the Earth. Afterwards more apparent Omens ſucceeded: For he had cull'd out of all his Treaſure a certain Bracelet ſet with Pearls and Jewels to adorn his Statue of *Tuſculan* Fortune, which afterwards, as deeming it worthy a more Illuſtrious Place, he Conſecrated to *Capitoline Venus*; but the next night he dreamt that he ſaw the ſame Image of Fortune complaining of her being robb'd of the Preſent which he had beſtow'd upon her, and threatning to recal thoſe Favours which ſhe had beſtow'd upon him. Upon which awaking in a great affright he haſten'd early in the Morning to *Tuſculum*, to divert by Supplications the evil Omens of his Dream, having ſent his Prieſts and Soothſayers before to make ready the Ceremonies. But when he arriv'd, he found nothing but a glowing Ember upon the Altar, and an old Man apparell'd in Mourning Habit, ſtanding by, and holding the Frankincenſe in a Glaſs Plate, and the Wine unmix'd in an Earthen Cup. It was alſo obſerv'd, that as he was offering Sacrifice about the

the middle of *January*, his Crown fell from his Head; and as he was about to inſpect the Omens of his future Luck the Birds flew quite away. Alſo in the Camp his Imperial Chair that us'd to ſtand before the Tribunal, when he made any Harrangue to the Soldiers, was miſplac'd; and the ſame thing alſo happen'd in the Senate, where through the inadvertency of the Officers, his * *Running Throne* was ſet where it ought not to have ſtood.

19. Moreover before he was ſlain, the Sooth-ſayer frequently admoniſh'd him to beware the threatning danger, that the Aſſaſſinates were not far off. In a few hours after he unde ſtood that *Otho* was Maſter of the Camp; and when the greateſt part of his Friends perſwaded him to make all the ſpeed he could to the Soldiery, for that he might prevail, through the awe of his Preſence and Imperial Authority, he reſolv'd to do no more than only keep himſelf cloſe within the Walls of his Palace. However he put on a † Linnen Corſlet, yet not diſſembling his fears how little it would avail againſt the Points of ſo many Swords. But being inveagled into the Street by falſe Rumours which the Conſpirators had ſpread abroad on purpoſe, to intice him forth, ſome few raſhly affirming that the buſineſs was over, that the Rioters and Mutineers were quell'd, and the reſt coming in a full Body to congratulate and pay him their wonted Homage; therefore to meet theſe he rode forth with ſo much confidence, that to a Soldier vaunting that he had ſlain *Otho*, he made anſwer, *By whoſe Order*, and ſo rode on to the *Forum*. There the Horſe-men who were entruſted with the Aſſaſſination, galloping through the

* *This was an Ivory Chair of State commonly carry'd in the Chariot, wherein the Emperor rode to the Senate, call'd Curulis from* Currus *that ſignifies a Chariot.*

† *Made of Linnen, ſteep'd in ſowre Wine or Vinegar intermix'd with Salt, and doubled eighteen times or more.*

the dispere'd Throng of common People, as soon as they saw him at a distance, made a little stop; but presently after putting spurs to their Horses, they fell upon him and stabb'd him, deserted and abandon'd by all his Followers.

20. Some there are who report, that upon the first noise of the Tumult, he cry'd out, *What is this ye are doing Fellow-Soldiers? I am yours, and you are mine*; and that then withal he promis'd them a Donative. This was most of all to be wonder'd at, that not one of those who were present so much as offer'd to assist the Emperor, and those that were sent for, all dispis'd the Messengers, except the Regiment of *Germans*. For they remembring his late kindnesses, for that he had supported and reliev'd them full of Diseases, and half famish'd as they were after a long Voyage by Sea, flew to his succour; but too late, being retarded by their ignorance of the neareſt Passages, and missing their way. He was murder'd close by the * *Curtian* Lake, and † there left as he lay weltring in his Blood, until a common Soldier returning from a publick distribution of Corn, laid down his Burthen and cut off his Head; and because he could not take hold of the Hair because he was bald, he carry'd it in the Lappet of his Coat; and by and by thrusting his Thumb between his Teeth presented it to *Otho*. He gave it to the Suttlers and Horse-Boys, who carry'd it round the Camp the Object of their Scorn and Contempt; ever and anon crying out, *Cupid Galba, enjoy the Beauty of thy Age*; chiefly excited to that petulant scurrility, for that

* *Where the Earth is formerly said to have gap'd, and that Curtius threw himself into the Chasm to appease the subterraneal Demons.*

† *For that his Dog that lay by him all the while would not suffer any body to come neer him.*

that a few days before he appear'd in publick, to a certain Sycophant that flatter'd the floridneſs and vigour of his Perſon, conſidering his years, he reply'd, Ἔτι μοὶ μένος ἔμπεδον ἔστι.

* *As yet my ſtrength feels no decay.*

* *The ſaying of* Diomed *in* Homer *when he was going to fight* Æneas, *and in the ſame Conflict wounded* Venus *and* Mars.

From theſe Rakeſhames the enfranchis'd Bondman of *Patrobius Neronianus* bought the Scull for a Hunder'd Marks in Gold or ſomething more, and threw it into the ſame place where his Maſter had been † executed by the Commands of *Galba* not long before. But at laſt *Argius* his Treaſurer buried both the Head and the reſt of his Body in his Maſters own private Gardens, lying upon the *Aurelian* Road.

† *For he had caus'd the greateſt part of* Nero's *Emiſſaries, among which* Patrobius *was one, to be put to death.*

21. He was neither ‖ too low nor too high, very bald, blew Ey'd, Hawk-nos'd; having his Toes and Fingers extreamly diſtorted with the Gout; ſo that he could neither endure a Shooe, nor hold or turn over the Leaves of a Book.

‖ *Juſta Statura among the* Romans *was accounted to be ſix Foot high or a little more.*

22. On his right ſide alſo his Fleſh grew forth and hung down in ſuch a manner, that it could hardly be kept up with a Swath. He was alſo ſaid to be a great feeder, inſomuch that in the Winter time it was his cuſtom to call for his Breakfaſt before day; but exceeding at Supper to that degree, that he would order his Leavings and his Orts, of which he made great heaps, to be carry'd about and divided among the meaner ſort of his Attendants. In the ſatisfaction of his Luſt more prone to the Male Sex; nor did he care for any of that Sex neither but ſuch as were over-grown and exſolete. It is reported therefore that in *Spain* when *Icelus*, one of the ſtaleſt of his He-Concubines, brought

brought him the news of *Nero*'s death, he not only receiv'd him in publick with home-preſs'd kiſſes, but courted and ſent him away to be ſmooth'd without delay.

23. He was kill'd in the Threeſcore and thirteenth year of his age, after he had Reign'd ſeven Months. The Senate, as ſoon as the times would bear it, had decreed him a Statue which was to have ſtood upon the Column call'd * *Roſtrata* in that part of the *Forum* where he was ſlain. But *Veſpaſian* cancell'd that Decree, believing that he had ſent Emiſſaries to Aſſaſſinate him in *Judea*.

* *As being adorn'd with the Beakes of Ships.*

THE

M. SALVIUS : OTHO

THE LIFE OF M. SALVIUS OTHO.

Done into *Engliſh* by *J. P.* Gent.

OTHO's Anceſtors deriv'd their Original from a Town call'd * *Ferentinum*, of an ancient and honourable Family, as being deſcended from the Princes of *Hetruria*. His Grand-father *M. Salvius Otho*, whoſe Father was of the *Equeſtrian Order*, though his Mother were but of mean Extraction, inſomuch that 'tis uncertain whether ſhe were free born or no, through the favour of *Livia Auguſta*, in whoſe Family he was bred up, was made a Senator, but never advanc'd to any higher Degree than that of the Prætorſhip. His Father, *L. Otho*, Nobly deſcended by the Mothers ſide, and by that means ally'd to many, and thoſe very Illuſtrious Families, was ſo beloved by *Tiberius* the Emperor, and ſo exactly reſembl'd him in the features of his Face, that ſeveral believ'd the Prince himſelf

* *Now* Ferentino *under the Juriſdiction of the Pope, eight Miles from the Confines of the Kingdom of* Naples, *and is an Epiſcopal See.*

ſelf to have begot him. He acquitted himſelf with the Reputation of a moſt ſevere and worthy Magiſtrate in all the City * Offices, in his *Proconſulſhip* of *Africa*, and ſeveral other extraordinary Commands. He had alſo the Courage, being than in *Illyricum*, to put to death ſeveral Soldiers, who repenting their being engag'd in the Rebellion of *Camillus*, had ſlain their Captains as being Authors of that revolt againſt *Claudius*; and that too in his own preſence at the head of the Battalions, though for that very reaſon he knew them to have been preferr'd as they were by *Claudius*. Which Action of his, though it augmented his Reputation, yet for ſome time it clouded his favour with the Emperor. However he ſoon recover'd it, by detecting a Conſpiracy of a *Roman* Knight againſt the Life of *Claudius*, the Treaſon being diſcover'd to him by the Traytors own Servants. For which the Senate honour'd him with a Statue erected in the *Palatium*; and *Claudius*, after he had advanc'd him into the *Patrician Order*, among other Applauſes of his Fidelity, added this Expreſſion; *A Perſon, then whom I nere would wiſh to have better Children of my own.* By his Wife *Albia Terentia*, a Lady of great Honour, he had two Sons, *T. Titianus*, and *Marcus* the younger, who bare his Fathers Sirname. He had alſo a Daughter which he contracted to *Druſus* the Son of *Germanicus*, before ſhe was ripe for Marriage.

* *As Edile, Prætor and Conſul.*

2. *Otho* the Emperor was born the 27*th* of *April*, *Camillus Arruntius*, and *Domitius Ænobarbus* being Conſuls. From his early youth he was ſo prodigal, and given to Women, that his Father was often conſtrain'd to chaſtize him.

It

It is also reported of him, that he was wont to run about the Streets in the night with his Companions, and where he met with any that were unable to make resistance on in drink, to seize them, and than cause them to be toss'd (as we say) in a Blanket, instead of which he made use of his upper Garment. After his Fathers decease, he address'd himself to a Court Lady in great favour, as being one of the Emperors freed Women; and to the end his Courtship might prove the more effectual, he pretended a most passionate Affection for her, though very old and almost decrepit. By her means he insinuated himself into *Nero*'s favour, and easily kept the highest place in his Friendship, through the conformity of their Humours; or as others report, being familiarly engag'd in mutual Prostitution. And so great was his power, that having contracted for a vast Sum to bring off a Person of Consular Dignity, who was question'd for Bribery and Extortion, he had the confidence to bring him into the Senate to return them Thanks, before he had fully obtain'd his Pardon.

3. Thus being acquainted with all *Nero*'s intrigues and secrets, the very day that the young Emperor had design'd to murder his Mother, he invited them both to a Supper most exquisitely Magnificent, to throw off all suspition from himself. Moreover, at what time *Nero*, having a great Affection for *Poppæa Sabina*, then his Mistress, took her from her Husband and sent her to *Otho*, who receiv'd her into his House under colour of Marriage. And not content to have alienated her Kindness from *Nero*, he grew so fond of her, that he could hardly brook

the Emperor to be his Rival. It is certainly reported that he not only refus'd those that were sent to bring her to the Emperor, but shut his doors against the Emperor himself, standing in the Street, and with Prayers and Threatnings intermix'd redemanding the Trust committed to his care. Whereupon *Nero* dissolv'd the Marriage, and to remove him out of the way, dispatch'd him Legate into *Portugal*. Which was thought sufficient, lest a severer Punishment should have discover'd the whole intrigue. However it came to light at length, and the Fact was lampoon'd in the following *Distich*.

Cur *Otho* mentito sit quæritis exul honore?
Uxoris mœchus ceperat esse suæ.

You ask why under false pretence
Of Honour, Otho's thus exil'd?
The Reason's clear, th' Adulterer fain
Would have his own dear Wife desil'd.

Nevertheless as bad as he was he govern'd the Province, when he was Quæstor, for ten years with singular abstinency and moderation.

4. But at length so soon as an opportunity of Revenge was offer'd him, he was the first who assisted *Galba* attempting new Revolutions, and at the same moment himself conceiv'd great hopes of the Empire; great indeed when he consider'd the Condition of the Empire; but far greater from the assurances of *Seleucus* an Astrologer; who having formerly ascertain'd him that he should supervive *Nero*, coming to him unexpected also at that juncture of time, promis'd him likewise then again that he should be Emperor in a short while. Wherefore omitting no sort

ſort of obſequious Behaviour and Courtſhip to all Men, as often as he entertain'd the Prince at Supper, he diſtributed a conſiderable Sum of Money among the Cohorts that were upon the Guard; nor was he leſs ſtudious to gain the reſt of the Soldiery by other means. Inſomuch that one of the * Penſioners of the Guard being in ſuit with his Neighbour about the Bounds and Limits of his Land, and the difference being referr'd to his Umpirage, he bought the whole Eſtate, and gave it the Soldier. So that there was hardly any Man, who did not only think in his Heart, but openly declar'd him the only Perſon worthy to ſucceed in the Empire.

* Tacitus calls him Cocceius Proculus *the* Speculator, *which Title was given to thoſe that watch'd next the Body of the Emperor with a Lance in their hands.*

5. Indeed he was in hopes that he ſhould have been Adopted by *Galba*; and it was that which he expected every day. But afterwards, finding *Piſo* preferr'd and himſelf defeated of his hopes, he reſolv'd to have recourſe to force of Arms; the Conſideration of his vaſt debts at the ſame time incenſing and encouraging the Motions of his Rancour'd Mind. Nor was he aſham'd openly to declare, *That 'twas impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt, unleſs it were his good Fortune to be Emperor; and that 'twas all one to him whether he fell by the Sword of his Enemies in the Field, or the Proſecution of his Creditors in the Courts of Juſtice.* Some few days before, he had ſqueez'd out of one of *Cæſar*'s Servants Five and twenty thouſand Crowns for a Stewardſhip he had begg'd for him. With this Aſſiſtance he began ſo great an undertaking; and firſt of all the buſineſs was communicated to five *Speculators* of the Guard, every one of which

produced two more a piece. To all these he paid down Two hunder'd and fifty Crowns a Man, and promis'd Twelve thousand five hunder'd Crowns more. By these the rest were engag'd, but not many, not doubting of great numbers when the design was once on foot.

6. His Resolution was, presently after the Adoption to possess himself of the Camp, and to set upon *Galba* as he was at Supper in the Palace. But the respect he had to the Cohort which was then upon the Guard restrain'd him, fearing he should throw too great an *Odium* upon it, for that the same Cohort happen'd to be upon the Guard before both times, as well when *Caius* was murder'd, and *Nero* deserted. And during the * Middle Time, partly Religion, partly the Admonitions of *Seleucus* prevail'd with him to lye quiet. But upon the day design'd, the Conspirators having notice to be ready in the *Forum*, and to attend him under the Temple of *Saturn*, neer the † *Golden Pillar of Miles*, he went in the Morning to pay his Respects to *Galba*. And according to Custom being receiv'd with a Kiss, he was also admitted to be present while the Emperor Sacrific'd, and heard the Predictions of the Soothsayers. At length

* *By the Middle Time he means the six days from the Adoption of* Piso *to the slaughter of* Galba. Piso *was Adopted the Tenth of* January; Galba *was slain the sixteenth of* January. *During the Middle Time between these days,* Otho *would make no attempt upon* Galba, *partly through scruple of Religion, partly by the Advice of* Seleucus. *By Religion is meant a certain Tradition among the* Romans, *by which they were forbid to undertake any business of Importance upon such days, being set apart by the* Roman *Superstition to Consult the happy Hour among the Astrologers, proper for the beginning the design in hand.*

† Miliarium aureum *was a Pillar so call'd, because that from thence the number of Miles, which measur'd all the Roads of* Italy, *began.*

one

one of his Freed-men bringing word that the Carpenters were come, which was the ſignal agreed upon, he took his leave, pretending to look upon a Houſe that was to be ſold, and ſo ſlipt away in great haſte through a back Paſſage of the Palace, to the Rendevouze appointed. Others report, that he counterfeited himſelf ſick of an Ague, and deſir'd the Noble-Men that were preſent to make that excuſe for him, if he were enquir'd for. Then clapping himſelf into a cloſe Sedan, ſuch as wherein the Women were wont to be carry'd abroad, he haſten'd directly to the Camp; but the Sedan-men being tir'd by the way, he was forc'd to quit his cloſe Chair, and run for it, till his Shooe untying, he was forc'd to make another ſtop; but then the Soldiers impatient of longer delay took him up upon their Shoulders, and being ſaluted Emperor by his preſent Attendance, he was brought to the chief Quarter of the Camp, ſurrounded with drawn Swords, and in the midſt of happy Acclamations, while all that met him clos'd in with his Party, as if they had been Accomplices in the Conſpiracy. There, after he had ſent away his Inſtruments to kill *Galba* and *Piſo*, he made a Speech to win the Hearts of the Soldiers; he promis'd only this, *That he would pretend to no more than only what they ſhould think fit to leave him.*

7. Then toward the cloſe of the day, entring the Senate, and after a ſhort accompt of the Tranſaction, as if he had been hal'd from the publick *Forum*; and conſtrain'd by violence to take the Empire upon him, which however he promis'd to manage with their conſent and ge-

neral Approbation, he hasten'd to the Palace. At what time, and which was more than all the glozing Acclamations of those that loudly flatter'd and congratulated his Advancement, being by the Rabble call'd *Nero*, he never shew'd the least sign of disgust; nay, as some reported in some of his Commissions and first Epistles to the Governours of the Provinces, he added to his own the Sirname of *Nero*. And certain it is he permitted his Images and Statues to be set up again in their former Places, and recall'd his Collectors and Freed-men to the Imployments they enjoy'd before; and the first Order which he sign'd in the hight of his Grandeur was for Twelve hunder'd and something more than Fifty thousand Crowns to finish the Golden House. It is reported that the same Night, being terrify'd in his sleep, he was heard to groan several times after a most sad and dismal manner; upon which, the Waiters running into his Chamber, found him grovling upon the Ground at the feet of the Bed; which put him into such a Consternation, that he endeavour'd afterwards by all sorts of expiations to attone the Ghost of *Galba*, which as he thought had push'd and thrust him out of the Bed. The next day likewise, while he was Consulting the Entrails of the Fowl, being blown down by a sudden Tempest, he was often heard to mutter to himself the following Greek Proverb,

Τὶ γὰρ μοι καὶ μακρῶις αὐλῶις.

What mean these Blustrings of presaging Fate?
For what can these loud Pipes to me relate?

8. At

8. At the ſame time however the *German* Legions had ſworn Allegiance to *Vitellius*: Of which when he had Intelligence, he propos'd to the Senate the ſending of Commiſſioners to let them underſtand, that he was already choſen Emperor, and to perſwade them to Peace and Unity. Nevertheleſs by his Meſſengers and private Letters he offer'd *Vitellius* a ſhare of the Empire, and his Daughter in Marriage. But the War was declar'd, and now the Captains and Forces which *Vitellius* ſent before approaching, he had a full Tryal of the Courage and Fidelity of the *Prætorian* Bands, almoſt to the utter ruin of the whole *Senatorian Order*. For a Decree had paſt, that a certain quantity of Arms ſhould be tranſported to ſome other place, and to that purpoſe be carry'd them on Ship-board. But while theſe Arms were removing out of the Camp in the night, certain of the Soldiers apprehending there might be Treachery in the bottom of the deſign, alarum'd all the reſt. Thereupon they all betook themſelves to their Arms, and in a tumultuous manner without any certain Leader, ran to the Palace, demanding Liberty to put the whole Senate to the Sword. At what time, ſome of the Tribunes that oppos'd themſelves againſt the Torrent, being repulſs'd and others ſlain, all bloody as they were, they broke into the Room where *Otho* was at Supper with fourſcore Senators and ſome Ladies of great Quality, demanding where the Emperor was; nor would they depart, till ſatisfy'd with the ſight of his Perſon. Soon after he ſet forward upon his march with great diligence, but with too much haſte, as one that neither ſhew'd any reſpect of

Religion, nor care of replacing the *Ancilia* or Sacred Shields, which had been remov'd before; a thing that was anciently counted unfortunately Ominous; and upon that very day too that the Priests and Adorers of the *Mother of the Gods* begin to Mourn and make their Lamentations. In a word, at a time when several Prodigies boded nothing but ill Success. For the Victims slain to Father *Dis*, prov'd favourable; whereas in such kind of Sacrifices unlucky Entrails are more desirable. Also upon his first setting forward, being retarded by the Inundations of *Tiber*, he found the way stopp'd again about twenty Miles from *Rome* by the fall of several Buildings that were tumbl'd down by accident.

9. With the same inconsiderate rashness, though it were the Opinion of all Men, that 'twas his Interest to delay time and spin out the War, knowing the Enemy to be prest with famine and the narrowness of the ways, yet he resolv'd to give them Battel upon the first opportunity. Whether impatient of longer trouble, and hoping to vanquish the foremost Troops, or precipitated by the military Fury of his Soldiers who prest him to an Engagement; yet neither was he present at that Fight, but stai'd at * *Brixillum*. In the three first he had the better, though they were but inconsiderable; the first neer the *Alpes*, the second not far from *Placentia*, the third at a place call'd *Castoris*; but in the last, which was the most Bloody Conflict, neer † *Bebraicum*, he was overthrown by Treachery. At what time, under pretence of Overtures made, and a Cessation of Arms ensuing, the Soldiers being brought forth as it were

* *Now* Bressello *under the Duke of* Modena.

† *Now* Cayeto.

to

to accept the Conditions of Peace, the *Othonians* of a ſudden in the very Act of Congratulation were conſtrain'd to fight; upon which the Emperor preſently took up a Reſolution to kill himſelf. As many, and that not without reaſon, conjecture, rather out of a ſhame of perſevering any longer in maintaining his Soveraign Dignity at the hazard of ſo many Mens Lives and the Fortune of the Empire, than out of any diſpair or diffidence of his own ſtrength; for that all his Forces were yet entire which he had reſerv'd with himſelf for tryal of ſecond Chances, beſides that great Recruits were marching up to him out of *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia*, and *Meſia*; nor were the vanquiſh'd ſo cow'd or caſt down, but that they were ſtill ready to undergo any hazard alone in revenge of the Ignominy which they had ſuſtain'd.

10. My own Father *Suetonis Lenis* was preſent at this Battel, a Tribune of the Thirteenth Legion of the lower Degree, as being one who wore the *leſſer Purple Stud upon his Coat. He was wont afterwards frequently to tell us, that *Otho*, when a private Perſon, abominated Civil War to that Degree, that upon a ſhort recital which a certain Perſon made of the end of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, he fell a trembling; nor would he have conteſted with *Galba*, but that he was aſſur'd of affecting his deſign without a War. More than that, he was encourag'd to a Contempt of his Life by the Example of a Common Soldier, who when he brought news of the Armies being defeated, yet found that no body would believe him, but rather upbraided him for a Lyar, and a Coward that had fled out of the Battel, fell upon

* *Therefore call'd* Auguſti-Clavius.

on his Sword at the Emperors Feet, upon which he is ſaid to have cry'd out, *That he would no more expoſe to danger ſuch worthy and well deſerving Perſons for his ſake.* Exhorting therefore his Brother, his Brothers Son, and the reſt of his his Friends to ſhift for themſelves, the beſt they could, he embrac'd and kiſs'd them and ſo ſent them away. After which he retir'd into his private Cabinet, and wrote two Letters of Conſolation to his Siſter. Others he alſo wrote to *Meſſalina* the Wife of *Nero*, whom he had deſign'd to marry, recommending to her the care of his Aſhes and his Memory. Then whatever Epiſtles he had by him from other Men he burnt them all, leſt they might fall into the hands of the Conqueror to the prejudice of thoſe that writ them; and laſtly he divided all the ready Money he had then by him among his Domeſticks.

11. And now being thus prepar'd and reſolv'd to dye, there happen'd a Tumult in the midſt of theſe delays, at what time perceiving that the Soldiers apprehended, and detain'd as Deſerters of their Soveraign, all ſuch as began to ſneak and ſlink out of the Camp, *Nay then, let us add this night alſo to our Life*, cry'd he, and ſo ſaying, he farther commanded that no conſtraint ſhould be put upon any Man, and ordering his Bed-Chamber Door to be left open till late in the Night, he gave liberty of entrance to all that came to ſee him. After that having quench'd his drouth with a draught of cold Water, he took two Daggers, and feeling which was the ſharpeſt, lai'd it under his Pillow; which done the Doors were made faſt, and he betaking himſelf to his reſt fell into a moſt profound ſleep. By break of day he wak'd,

wak'd, and with one blow ſtab'd himſelf under the left Pap; preſently his Servant ruſh'd in, upon the firſt groan that he gave; but he expir'd ſoon after, ſometimes concealing, ſometimes diſcovering the wound, and was buried with the ſame haſt, according to his own Order, in the Thirty eighth year of his Age, and upon the Ninety fifth day of his Reign.

12. From a Body and a Garb like *Otho's*, no Man would ever have expected ſo great a Courage. For he was but of a very moderate Stature; Splay-footed and turning his Toes inward; finical even to Effeminacy; not ſuffering the Hairs of his Body to grow; and in regard his Hair was very thin upon his Head, he wore a little Cap with a Border ſo exquiſitely fitted to it, that it could not be diſcern'd. He alſo ſhav'd his Beard every day, and ſmear'd his Face over with Bread ſoak'd in Aſſes Milk; which Cuſtom he had obſerv'd ever ſince the down began to come upon his Chin, to keep his Face ſmooth, and prevent his having any Beard. He often alſo Sacrific'd publickly to *Iſis* in a Linnen and Religious Veſtment. For which reaſon in my Opinion it is, that his Death being ſo different and unſuitable to his manner of Living, he is ſo much the more to be wonder'd at. Many of the Soldiers that were preſent, with Tears and Lamentations kiſſing his Hands and his Feet as he lay, and crying him up for a moſt *Valiant Perſon* and matchleſs Emperor, at the ſame time ſlew themſelves not far from his Funeral Pile. Many that were abſent, when they heard the news, for very grief, fell together by the ears and kill'd one another. Nay a great number of People, that

that abominated and abhorr'd him while alive, extoll'd him to the Skies when he was dead; ſo that it was the common diſcourſe among the People, *That* Galba *was ſlain by him, not ſo much out of a deſire of Imperial Dominion, as out of a deſign to have reſtor'd the Commonwealth to her Priſtin Liberty.*

THE

A. VITELLIUS.

W. D. F.

THE LIFE OF A. VITELLIUS.

Done into *Engliſh* by *J. P.* Gent.

1. SOME there are who relate the Original of the *Vitellii* to be various; others, to be altogether different; partly Ancient and Noble; partly upſtart and obſcure, nay very mean and ſordid. Which I ſhould believe to have been occaſion'd by the Reports of his Flatterers on the one ſide, and his Detractors on the other ſide, but that there was ſome diſpute ſome time before concerning the Condition of his Family. There is extant a little Book of *Q. Eulogius* to *Q. Vitellius, Quæſtor*, or Treaſurer at War to *Divus Auguſtus*, wherein it is affirm'd, that the *Vitellii*, deriving their Pedigree from *Faunus*, King of the *Aborigines*, and *Vitellia*, who in many places was worſhipt for a Goddeſs, formerly raign'd over all *Latium*. Of theſe the remaining Lineage remov'd themſelves from among the *Sabines*

bines to *Rome*, and were choſen into the *Patrician Order*. That as Monuments of the Grandeur of their Deſcent, the *Vitellian* High-way was for a long time known, reaching from * *Mount Janiculum* to the Sea. Alſo a Colony of the ſame name, the defence of which againſt the *Æquiculi* they earneſtly deſir'd, at their own charges. Afterwards in the time of the *Samnitick* War, a Garriſon being ſent into *Apulia*, certain of the *Vitellii* ſettl'd themſelves at *Nuceria*; whoſe Off-ſpring a long time after that, return'd to the City and were admitted into the *Senatorian Order*. On the contrary, there are many others, who have reported the Founder of the Family to have been a Perſon that ſerv'd for his Freedom. *Caſſius Severus*, with ſeveral others, aſſert the ſame Perſon to have been a Cobler, whoſe Son having acquir'd a plentiful Eſtate by the Redemption of plunder'd Goods, begate a *Roman* Knight upon a Common Proſtitute, the Daughter of one *Antiochus* a Baker. But we leave theſe diſputes for others to determin. However moſt certain it is, that *P. Vitellius*, of the *Nucerian* Family, whether deſcended from ancient Lineage, or from Parents and Anceſtors mean and ignominious, was aſſuredly a *Roman* Knight, and mannager of *Auguſtus*'s Affairs; who left four Sons of the ſame Sirname, only diſtinguiſh'd by their *Prænomens*, *Aulus*, *Quintus*, *Publius* and *Lucius*; *Aulus* dy'd in the Conſulſhip which he held with *Domitius*, the Father of *Nero Cæſar*; otherwiſe ſumptuous in his Dyet, and famous for the Magnificence of his Banquets. *Publius*, the ſecond Son and *Germanicus*'s great Companion, indited *Cn. Piſo* the mortal Enemy and Murderer of his Friend, and

* *One of the ſeven Hills in* Rome, *now call'd* Montorio, *upon which ſtands the Church call'd* St. Peters *in* Montorio.

and condemn'd him, and after he had been Honour'd with the *Prætorſhip*, being taken among the Confederates with *Sejanus*, and deliver'd into the cuſtody of his Brother, he cut his own Veins with a Penknife, and when he had done, vanquiſh'd rather by the importunity of his Friends, rather than out of any Repentance for what he had acted, ſuffering his Wounds to be bound and cur'd, ſicken'd under the ſame Cuſtody and dy'd. *Lucius*, after his Conſulſhip, being made Governour of *Syria*, by meer dint of Policy won *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, not only to give him a meeting, but alſo to do homage to the Enſigns of the Legions. Afterwards, with *Claudius*, when Emperor, he held two Conſulſhips in his own Right, and the Office of Cenſor beſides. He alſo manag'd the Affairs of the whole Empire in the abſence of *Claudius* upon his Expedition into Great *Britain*; a Perſon no leſs Innocent than Induſtrious, but notoriouſly ſcandalous for the love which he bare to one of his enfranchiz'd Bond-women, with whoſe Spittle mix'd with Honey he was wont to foment his Arteries and Chaps, not in private or ſeldom, but every day and publickly, whoever was in the Room,

2. The ſame Perſon, as he had a wonderful gift of Flattery, was the firſt who ordain'd that *Caius Cæſar* ſhould be ador'd as a God, when returning out of *Syria*, he would not adventure to approach his Preſence but with his Head wrapt in a vail, firſt * turning about his Body, then falling proſtrate. And that he might omit no

* *It was the Cuſtom not only of the Ancient* Romans, *but alſo of moſt other Heathen Nations, when they ador'd their Idols to clap their right hands to their Lips, with the Fore-finger reſting upon the extended Thumb, and then to turn about the body to the Right.* In the Ceremony of Adoration, *ſays Pliny*, we carry our Right Hands to our Lips, and turn about the whole Body.

means to gain the Favour of *Claudius*, who was extreamly fond of his Wives and enfranchis'd Bond-men, he begg'd of *Meſſalina*, as the greateſt Boon ſhe could beſtow upon him, that he might have the honour to pull off her Shooes; which being granted, he drew off her right * Slipper, and thruſt it into his Boſom, between his veſt and his Tunick, where he carry'd it continually, and many times would pull it forth to kiſs it. Alſo he worſhipt the Golden Statues of † *Narciſſus* and *Pallas* among the reſt of his Houſhold Gods. And in his Congratulation to *Claudius*, when he ſolemniz'd the *Secular Plays*, he would make frequent repition of theſe words, *Sæpe facias*, maiſt thou often do the ſame.

* *The* Roman *Ladies Slippers or Shoes were call'd* Soculi, *and many times were embroider'd with Gold and ſet with Precious Stones.*

If Meſſalina's *were ſuch a one,* Vitellius *had no bad Bargain.*

† *Two of* Claudius's *enfranchis'd Slaves.*

3. He dy'd of a Palſie, the next day after the Fit ſeiz'd him; leaving two Sons behind him, which he had by *Sextilia* a Lady moſt eminent for her Vertue, and of no mean Deſcent, and whom he liv'd to ſee Conſuls; both the ſame, and during the whole year, the younger ſucceeding the elder for ſix Months. After his deceaſe, the Senate honour'd him with a publick Funeral; as alſo with a Statue erected before the ‖ *Roſtra*, with this Inſcription, IMMOVEABLE IN HIS FIDELITY TOWARD HIS PRINCE. *Aulus Vitellius*, the Emperor, and Son of *Lucius*, was born upon the Eighth of the Kalends of *October* or as ſome will have it, upon the Seventh of the Ides of *September*. *Druſus Cæſar*, and *Norbanus Flaccus* being Conſuls

‖ *Or Place of Common Pleas. It was a goodly Edifice, in manner of the Body of a Cathedral Church, beautifi'd with the Stems of ſeveral Ships, which the* Romans *won from the People of Antium in a memorable Sea-Engagement.*

Conſuls. His Parents dreaded after ſuch a manner his Nativity, foretold by the Aſtrologers, that his Father made it his chief buſineſs, that no Province might be committed to his charge while he was a live, and his Mother bewail'd him for a loſt Man, when being ſent to the Legions, ſhe heard he was ſaluted Emperor. During his Childhood, and the firſt years of his Adoleſcency, he reſided at *Capreæ*, among the *Tiberian Catamites*; inſomuch that he himſelf was no leſs branded with the perpetual Sirname of *Male Proſtitute*; and the Beauty of his Body was thought to have been the firſt occaſion of his Father's Advancement.

4. In the ſucceeding years of his Age, contaminated with all manner of Vice, he enjoy'd one of the moſt Conſpicuous Stations in the Court; as having gain'd a familiarity with *Caius* for his excellency in Chariot-driving; and no leſs belov'd by *Claudius* for his Affection to gaming. But ſtill more gracious with *Nero*, as well for his Endowments before mention'd, as for his peculiar Merit. For that preſiding at the * *Neronean* Tryals of Skill, and finding *Nero* deſirous to make one of the Competitors among the Harpers, yet not confident enough to adventure, and therefore withdrawing out of the Theater, notwithſtanding the earneſt Importunity of the whole Aſſembly, He follow'd the young Emperor cloſe at the Heels, and as if he had undertaken to intercede in behalf of the People perſevering in their ardent Requeſt, he brought him back as one that at length had ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-rul'd.

* *Muſick, Wreſtling, and Riding or Horſe-racing.*

5. Thus through the kind Indulgence of three Princes, being enrich'd not only by the

Honours which they heap'd upon him, but the moſt ample Prieſthoods which he enjoy'd by vertue of their favour, he obtain'd the Proconſulſhip of *Africa*, and held the Office beſides of Surveyor of the publick Buildings, with a deſign and Reputation altogether different. For in the Province he behav'd himſelf with a ſingular Integrity for two years together, when he was ſubſtituted Legate to his Brother that ſucceeded him. But while he held his City Employment, he is ſaid to make bold with many of the Gifts and Ornaments of the Temples, and to have exchang'd others, putting Pewter and Braſs gilt in the Room of Gold and Silver.

6. He marry'd *Petronia*, the Daughter of a Conſular Perſon, by whom he had a Son blind of one Eye. This Son when his Mother ſignifi'd her reſolution to make him her Heir, ſo ſoon as he was out of his Fathers Guardianſhip, he forthwith releas'd from his Paternal * ſubjection. Afterwards he put him to death, having firſt accus'd him of an intended Parricide, and then pretending that out of remorce of Conſcience he had drank the Poyſon which he had prepar'd for his Father. Soon after he marry'd *Galeria Fundana*, whoſe Father had been Prætor, by whom he had Iſſue a Son and a Daughter: But the Son ſo unfortunate through the ſhortneſs of his Tongue that he could hardly ſpeak.

* *This was done by ſelling the Son by an imaginary ſale to another Man, who was call'd a Father in Truſt. Of whom the Natural Father buying the Son again, enfranchis'd him, and then he had his Liberty. Which imaginary ſale was call'd* Emancipatio.

7. By *Galba* he was ſent into the Lower *Germany* contrary to the Opinion of all Men. But moſt believe that he was aſſiſted in that Affair by the ſuffrage of *T. Vinnius*, who at that time bore

bore a great ſway; and to whom he had been reconcil'd ſome time before, through the common Affection which they had both to the ſame Faction. Unleſs it were that *Galba* thought with himſelf, that none were leſs to be fear'd then ſuch as only minded their Bellies; and that certainly within the Circuit of a Province he might find Food and variety ſufficient to ſatisfie his voracious Appetite; and then it is apparent that he was choſen rather out of Contempt than Favour. Certain it is, that when he was ready to ſet forward on his Journey, he wanted Money to buy him ſuſtenance, being reduc'd to ſo much poverty at home, that after he had hid up his Wife and Children, which he left at *Rome*, in a hir'd Garret, he let out his Houſe for the remaining part of the year; and was forc'd to pawn a Pearl which he took from a Pendent in his Mothers Ear, to defray the Expences of his Journey. Nor could he remove the Tumult of his Creditors that crouded about his Doors to arreſt him, eſpecially the *Sinueſſans* and *Formians*, whoſe Tributes he had imbezl'd, till he threaten'd to accuſe them of making * undue Demands. For that it was known that formerly he had brought his Action againſt a Freeman who dunn'd him a little too ſeverely, under pretence that his Creditor had kickt him, by which means he extorted from him fifty *Seſterces* before he would releaſe him. When he arriv'd in the Province; the Soldiers, that had but little kindneſs for the Emperor, and were ready prepar'd for any new diſturbances, receiv'd him with open Arms as a

* *In the old* Roman *Law by* Calumnia *was meant the demanding from another Man that which was not his right to pay. The Penalty of which was to be conſiderably fin'd and to pay the Defendant his Coſts and Damages.*

Person sent them by the Gods; the Son of one that had been three times Consul, and a Man of an easie and Prodigal Temper. Which old Opinion and conceiv'd Character of himself *Vitellius* had renew'd and augmented by fresh Experiments, all along the Road kissing every Common Soldier that he met; and curteous to excess to all the Mule-drivers and Travellers in all the Kitchens and Carriers Ordnaries where he came; insomuch that in the Morning he would ask them Man by Man, whether they had Breakfasted or no? and then belching in their Faces, give them to understand that he had been at it already.

8. When he came to quarter in the Camp, he refus'd to none whatever they desir'd of him. The Infamous he restor'd to Reputation, by giving them leave to cancel the Brands of their Infamy; the Guilty he permitted to lay aside their sordid Habit, and releas'd the condemned from their Crimes. Wherefore ere a Month was fully past, without any regard had either to the * Day or † Time, in the Evening of a sudden he was hurry'd out of his Bed-Chamber, just as he was in his Night Gown, and by the Soldiers saluted EMPEROR, and carry'd about through all the most noted Villages adjoyning, holding the Sword of *Divus Julius* in his Hand, which a certain Soldier having taken down out of the Temple of *Mars*, gave him into his Hand, when he was first saluted: Nor did he return to the *Pretorium*, till they saw his Dining-Room all in a Blaze, occasion'd by the Fire taking hold of the Chimney. At what time the Soldiers being all in a Consternation, and anxiously concern'd at the sight of such an unlucky Omen,

* *Whether fortunate or unlucky.*

† *Because the Morning was the Time when they visited the Entrails of the Beasts before they undertook any considerable Enterprize.*

Be

Be of good Courage, he cry'd, *it ſhines upon Us*; and that was all that ever he ſaid upon his Exaltation. After this, the Legions of the upper Province (which had before revolted from *Galba* to the Senate,) having declar'd for him, by common conſent they tender'd him the Sirname of *GERMANICUS*, which he accepted very readily, delay'd to aſſume the Title of *AUGUSTUS*, and always refus'd that of * *CÆSAR*, of Nero *and the bad Management of his Predeceſſors had render'd odious to the Commonwealth.*

* *As being a Name which the Cruelties*

9. Soon after the Tidings of *Galba*'s murder being brought to the Camp, he made haſte to ſettle the *German* Affairs, and divided his Forces into two Bodies; conſidering with himſelf which to ſend againſt *Otho*, and which to lead in Perſon. Proſperouſly it fell out, that a joyful Omen encourag'd the firſt Diviſion of the Army that march'd before. For an Eagle of a ſudden flying from the Right hand, after ſhe had rounded all the Enſigns with expanded Wings, takes a ſlow flight before the Vanguard of the Body. On the other ſide, it happen'd when the Emperor himſelf mov'd, that the Statues repreſenting the Order of Knighthood, of which there were many in ſeveral places erected to his Honour, fell down altogether with their Legs broken; and the Laurel with which he had moſt Religiouſly begirt his Brows, dropt off into the Stream, as he paſt over. Soon after at *Vienna* as he ſate before the Tribunal hearing Cauſes, a Dunghill-Cock firſt clapt himſelf upon his Shoulder, and then upon his Head. All which unlucky Portents the Event confirm'd; for that he was not able to hold faſt the Empire which his Lieutenants had ſo well ſecur'd him.

10. Intelligence had been given him of the Victory at *Bebriacum*, and the Death of *Otho*, while he was yet in *Gallia*; and therefore without any more delay, by one Edict at the same time promulgated he disbanded whatever remain'd of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, guilty all along of most * pernicious Example, commanding the Tribunes to deliver up their Arms. Of which *Prætorian* Bands he caus'd a Hunder'd and twenty to be diligently sought after, whose Hands he had found affix'd to Papers, wherein they demanded a Reward for the murder of *Galba*, and order'd them to be publickly executed. Nobly and Magnificently done, and that which gave great hopes of a most Excellent Prince, had he not manag'd other things more according to his own Nature, and at the rate of his former Life, than with regard to the Majesty of the Empire. For having began his March out of *Gallia*, he rode through the middle of all the Cities with a Triumphal Pomp; and crost's'd the Rivers in sumptuous Barges, deckt and trim'd with Garlands of all sorts, and crouded with Tables spread with all manner of costly Viands, without any regard of Domestick or Military Discipline, and turning the Rapines and petulant Enormities of his Soldiers into Mockery and Jeast; who not contented to be publickly feasted where ever they came, set at liberty whatever Slaves they pleas'd; beating, wounding, and sometimes threatning death to those that resisted; and as he pas's'd through the Fields where the late Battels had been fought, when some stopt their Noses at the stench of the putrifi'd Carcasses, he upbraided their niceness with this bloody and detestable Expression,

That

* *As being they who had deserted* Galba *and* Otho, *and slighting the Authority of the Senate and People, took upon them to Create Emperors.*

That the ſmell of a ſlain Enemy was a ſweet ſavour, but more eſpecially that of a Citizen. Nevertheleſs, as an Antidote againſt the noiſom perfume, he drank as he rode along whole Rummers of new Wine, and with the ſame Preſumption and Vanity order'd the Cups to go round among his Followers. Beholding a Stone with an Inſcription to the Memory of *Otho*, *Truly*, ſaid he, *the Man was worthy of ſuch a Mauſoleum*; and as for the Dagger with which he ſlew himſelf, he ſent it to the Colony of *Strasburgh*, there to be Conſecrated to *Mars*. Upon the Top of the *Appenine* he ſpent a whole Night in nocturnal Revelling.

11. He enter'd the City with a noiſe of Trumpets in a Rich * *Paludamentum*, girt with his Sword, in the midſt of the Banners and Enſigns; His Retinue following in their Soldiers Coats, and with their Swords drawn. After that, ſtill more and more contemning all Laws both Divine and Humane, upon the † Fatal day wherein the *Romans* loſt the Battel of *Allia*, he enter'd into the Office of the High-Prieſthood. He put off the Aſſemblies for Election of Magiſtrates from Ten years to Ten years, and made himſelf perpetual Conſul. And that no Man might queſtion what Pattern he intended to make choice of for the Government of the Commonweal, being aſſiſted by a numerous Aſſembly of the publick Prieſts, he offer'd a Funeral Sacrifice to the Ghoſt of *Nero* in the midſt of the Field of *Mars*. Afterwards at a ſolemn Banquet, he call'd to the Harper to ſing ſomething in praiſe of *Domitius*, who thereupon beginning one of *Nero*'s Commendations of the ſame Emperor

* *This was a Military Garment which none but the General wore, guarded with Purple, Scarlet and Gold Lace.*

† *Which day was ſet apart, and obſerv'd every year like a ſolemn day of Humiliation; where-in the ancient Romans did no manner of buſineſs.*

Emperor, he was the first that stood up and clapt the Musician.

12. After such a hopeful beginning as this, he surrender'd the greatest share of the Government to be manag'd by the Counsel, or rather at the Will and Pleasure of every Infamous Stage player, and Chariot-driver, more especially of *Asiaticus* his enfranchis'd Slave. This Male Prostitute, when but very young, after his Master and he had mutually for some time defil'd each other, wearied with his Patron's Importunity, ran away from him: Afterwards *Vitellius* retaking him at *Puteolæ*, where he was selling sower Wine and Water mix'd together to the poor People to get a Penny, cast him into Irons, but soon enlarg'd him, and favour'd him with the choicest of his Caresses. But then again not enduring his Contumacy and churlish ill Nature, he sold him to a Fencer; from whom, not long after, he took his opportunity to steal him again, being reserv'd by his Master to conclude the sport of the day; and as soon as he was in possession of his Province, gave him his Freedom. Moreover the first day that he appeard as Emperor, he suffer'd him to wear Gold Rings, which at Supper he bestow'd himself upon him; though in the Morning, when all the Officers made it their request in the Slaves behalf, he seem'd to abominate such a stain of the Order of the *Roman* Knighthood.

13. He was addicted to all sorts of Vices, but chiefly to Luxury and Cruelty; he always made three Meals a day, sometimes four, not contenting himself with Breakfast, Dinner and Supper, unless he had his Collation afterwards; all which he could easily bear, out of a habit which

which he had got of readily discharging his Stomach. He would also appoint where to sup, where to debauch the same day. And happy he that entertain'd him who could come off for Ten thousand Crowns at one sitting. But above all the rest the most famous Supper was that which was made him by his Brother to welcom him to the City, at which time as it is reported, no less than Two thousand Dishes of Fish, and Seven thousand of Fowl, all Rarities in Season were brought to the Table: Only he himself exceeded this Festival at his Dedication of his * Great Platter, which by reason of its extraordinary largeness he call'd the *Buckler of Minerva*, ἀσπὶς πολιάχου. This Platter he fill'd with an *Oglio* consisting of the Livers of Thornbacks, the Brains of Pheasants, and Peacocks, the Tongues of *Phœnicopters*, and the Milky Guts of Mullets; for which the Bowels of the Ocean were ransackt, from the *Carpathian* Sea to the Streights of *Spain*, by the Masters of the *Roman* Ships and Gallies. A Man not only of an unsatiable and bottomless Appetite, but so unseasonable and sordid withal, that whether he were upon a Journey, or offering Sacrifice, he could not forbear from snatching the Flesh of the Victim, and the parch'd Barly from the Altars; nor from tearing the Victuals from the Cooks Stalls in the Streets, whether steaming hot, or of yesterdays dressing and the leavings of others.

* *This Platter was valu'd, as* Pliny *relates, at five and twenty thousand Crowns. Which if it were as big as that which* Phidias *made at* Athens, *was six and twenty Cubits in Circumference.*

14. Nor was any Man more Cruelly inclin'd to put People to death, whoever were the Persons, or let the cause be what it would; so that there was no sort of Treachery which he did not make use of to murder several of the Nobility,

Nobility his School-fellows and Companions, after he had us'd all manner of allurements but only that of ſharing with him in the Empire to intice them to their Ruine; and to one he gave with his own hand a venomous draught mix'd in a Cup of cold Water, which the Perſon call'd for in the Fit of a Fever. But as for the Uſurers, Scriveners or Publicans, that had ever either demanded any Debt of him at *Rome*, or Duties upon his Travails, he hardly ſpar'd one. Among which there was one, who coming to kiſs his Hand, was by him commanded to be apprehended, and forthwith carry'd to the place of Execution; but being preſently recall'd, while all the Standers-by began to applaud his Mercy, he caus'd him to be executed before his Face, ſaying with all, *That he had a mind to feed his Eyes*; and at the ſame time he commanded the two Sons, that with all ſubmiſſion interceded for their Father, to be put to the ſame death. A certain *Roman* Knight, being dragg'd to Execution, and crying out, *Thou art my Heir*, he preſently caus'd him to ſhew his Will; but finding that the Knight had made his enfranchis'd Bond-man joint Executor with him, he commanded both the Knight and Freed Servant to be executed both together. He alſo put ſeveral of the common People to death, for no other reaſon in the world but only becauſe they had wiſh'd ill to the Faction of the *Veneti*; believing they did it in contempt of his Perſon, and encourag'd by new hopes. But againſt no ſort of People was he ſo much imbitter'd, as againſt the *Fortune-tellers*, and *Aſtrologers*; of which number if any were accus'd before him they were never ſuffer'd to Plead for themſelves, but were immediately condemn'd.

demn'd. The more exaſperated, for that after he had publiſh'd an Edict, commanding all Fortune-tellers and Aſtrologers to depart the City and all *Italy*, before the Kalends of *October*; there was a Libel diſperc'd about the Streets, in theſe words, *And the Chaldeans Decree,* * *A good Act, that* Vitellius Germanicus *ceaſe to be before that ſame Day of the Kalends.* He was alſo ſuſpected to have had a hand in the death of his Mother; as if he had forbid the giving her any nouriſhment when ſhe lay ſick: Upon the Propheſie of a certain *German* Witch, in whoſe Predictions he very much rely'd, *That he ſhould Reign ſecure and long, if he ſurviv'd his Mother.* Others report, that out of a deteſtation of his preſent Proceedings, and dread of his foreſeen Calamities, ſhe begg'd of her Son a draught of Poyſon, which he was eaſily perſwaded to give her.

* *Which was the beginning of all Decrees, anſwerable to our* In Nomine Domini.

15. In the Eight Month of his Reign the Armies in † *Mœſia* and *Pannonia* revolted from him; alſo in the Parts beyond the Seas, the *Judean* and *Syrian* Legions, of which ſome ſware Fealty to *Veſpaſian* preſent among them, others in his abſence. Therefore to retain the affection and favour of the reſt, there was no profuſion which he ſpar'd either publickly or in private. He alſo made Levies of Men in the City, with Conditions, that after the Victory all the Volunteers ſhould not only be again disbanded, but enjoy all the Benefits and Privileges of *Veterans* that had ſerv'd out their full time. But then the Enemy preſſing hard upon him both by Sea and Land, to the one he oppos'd his Brother with his Navy, the raw Soldiers and Gladiators; to the other the Commanders and Forces that lay at *Bebriacum*. However, being every

† *Now* Servia, Bulgaria, *and* Beſſarabia.

every where either vanquiſh'd or betray'd, he contracted with *Flavius Sabinus* to ſecure his Life for Five and twenty hunder'd thouſand Crowns; and immediately ſhewing himſelf upon the ſteps of the Palace before a numerous Throng of Armed Soldiers, he declar'd *His deſire to reſign the Empire which he had accepted againſt his Will*; but the Multitude oppoſing his Reſolution, he alter'd his mind for a time. But after he had conſulted with himſelf in the Night, by break of day, miſerably Habited, he repair'd to the *Roſtra*, and there again with Tears in his Eyes, repeated the ſame words, though in writing. But then again the Soldiers and the People interrupting him, and encouraging him not to be caſt down, with a promiſe of their utmoſt Aſſiſtance, he took heart again, and of a ſudden ſetting upon *Sabinus* and the reſt of the *Flavians*, ſuſpecting nothing, he drove them into the *Capitol*, and there ſetting Fire to the Temple of the moſt Mighty and Holy *Jupiter*, deſtroyd them altogether, while he himſelf beheld both the Conflict and the conſuming Flames from the *Tiberian* Palace, ſumptuouſly Feaſting and Gormandizing all the while. But not long after repenting of what he had done, and caſting the blame upon others, he ſummon'd an Aſſembly, where he both ſwore himſelf and caus'd others to ſwear, *That there was nothing to him more ſacred then the Publick Tranquility*. Then * looſening his Dagger from his ſide, he proffer'd it firſt to the Conſul, afterwards, upon his refuſal, to the Magiſtrates, and by and by to every Senator in particular; but when no body would receive it, he departed as if he intended to have laid it up in the Temple of *CONCORD*. Nevertheleſs when ſome cry'd out, *That he himſelf*

* *To ſhew that he reſign'd the Empire.*

was

war Concord, he return'd and vow'd not only to keep the Weapon, but to assume the Sirname of *CONCORD*; and perswaded the Senate to send certain Commissioners attended by the * *Vestal Virgins*, to desire either Peace, or at least some time for deliberation.

* *Of whose Intercession the Romans always made use, either in extremity of danger, or for the pardon of great Offences.*

16. The next day while he staid in expectation of an answer, news was brought him by one of the Scouts, that the Enemy advanc'd, and was at hand: Upon that he hid himself up in a close Sedan, with no more than only two in his Company, his Cook and his Baker, and privately took his flight toward *Aventinum*, and his Paternal Seat, by that means to make his escape into *Campania*. By and by upon a slight and uncertain Rumour that his Peace was obtain'd, he suffer'd himself to be carry'd back to the Palace. Where finding all things forlornly desolate, and that his Friends every moment slunk from him, he girt himself with a Girdle quilted full of Gold, and fled to the Porters Lodg, where he shut himself up, after he had ty'd a great Dog before the Door, against which he likewise set the Bed and Bedstead.

17. By this time the *Avant Curriers* of the main Body had broke into the Palace, and finding no resistance, fell a ransacking, as is usual, every Chink and Corner. By them he was haul'd out of his sculking hole, and being by them demanded *Who he was*, (for he was to them unknown) *and whether he knew* Vitellius; at first he evaded the Question with a Lye, but being at length discover'd, he begg'd with all the Importunity imaginable, under pretence that he had something to disclose, which highly concern'd *Vespasian*'s welfare, that he might in the mean time be committed to safe custody. But nothing

nothing would ſerve his turn; for after they had bound his Hands behind him, and caſt a Rope about his Neck, they dragg'd him with his Garments all torn, half naked, into the Market Place, no leſs ſcurrillous in their Language, than their Actions toward him, all along the length of the *Sacred* or *High Street* of the City, pulling his Head backward by the Hair, as they ſerve Capital Offenders, and holding the Point of a naked Sword under his Chin, to make him ſhew his Face; while others beſmear'd him with Ordure and Dirt, and others call'd him *Fire-brand* and *Platter-monger*; and many of the Rabble alſo upbraided him with the defects of his Body. For he was prodigiouſly Tall, Pimple-fac'd, by reaſon of his exceſſive drinking, and lame of one Leg, as having formerly receiv'd a bruiſe from a Chariot, through his double diligence to *Caius*, in one of his Careers. At length they brought him to the * *Gemoniæ*, where by ſtabbing him gently with ſmall pricks at a time, they tortur'd him to death by degrees; and thence dragg'd along with a Hook they flung his mortifi'd Carcaſs into *Tiber*.

* *Or Common Place of Execution.*

18. And thus dy'd *Vitellius*, together with his Brother and his Son in the fifty ſeventh year of his Age. Nor did he fail the Conjecture of thoſe, who foretold that by the Omen which happen'd to him at *Vienna*, nothing elſe was portended, but that he ſhould fall into the Power of ſome one Perſon of *Gallick* Birth. For he was apprehended by *Antonius Primus*, a Commander of the contrary Party; who being born at *Tholoſe*, was call'd by the Name of *Beck* when he was a Boy, which ſignifies the Bill of a Cock.

THE

T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS.

THE LIFE OF T. FLAV. VESPASIANUS AUGUSTUS.

Done into *Engliſh* by *N. S.* Gent.

1. WHen the *Roman* Empire was thus reduc'd to extremity and a tottering condition by the Rebellion and ſlaughter of three Uſurpers, at length the *Flavian* Family reſtor'd it to its priſtine Luſter. A Family 'tis true but mean and obſcure, and no way ennobl'd with the Statues of Illuſtrious Anceſtors. But of which however the Commonwealth had no reaſon to repent, though *Domitian* ſtain'd it again with his Avarice and Cruelty, for which he was made an Example. *Titus Flavius Petro* was an admitted Citizen of * *Reate*; in the Civil War whether a Centurion in *Pompeys* Army, or a Volunteer is uncertain. However he fled from the Rout at *Pharſalia* and retir'd home. Where after he had got his Pardon, and diſcharge from Military Employment, he became a

* *Now* Rieti *in the Province* Umbria *under the Juriſdiction of the Pope*

Broaker for the Redemption of * Forfeitures and Seizures put to publick ſale. His Son Sirnam'd *Sabinus*, unskilful in Warlike Affairs, (though ſome will have him to have been the Chief Centurion of one of the Legions, and diſcharg'd of his Oath by reaſon of Sickneſs) was a Collector of the Fortieth Penny in *Aſia*: where he behav'd himſelf with that moderation, that the Cities erected Statues to his Memory with this Inſcription, ΚΑΛΩ῾Σ ΤΕΛΩΝΗ῾ΣΑΝΤΙ. *To the Honeſt Publican.* Afterwards he went into *Helvetia*, where he lent out Money at Intereſt, and there dy'd, leaving behind him his Wife, *Veſpaſia Polla*, and two Children, of which the eldeſt *Sabinus* arriv'd to be Governour of the City, the youngeſt was advanc'd to the Empire. *Polla* was deſcended from a very good Family in † *Nurſia*, her Father being *Veſpaſius Pollio*, three times a Tribune, or Colonel of Foot, whoſe Brother alſo was a Senator of *Prætorian* Dignity. Moreover the place alſo, where ſeveral Monuments of the *Veſpaſii* are yet to be ſeen, ſtill bears the name of *Veſpaſiæ* to this day, upon the top of a Hill ſix Miles from *Nurſia*, in the Road to ‖ *Spoletum*; which clearly evinces the Splendor and Antiquity of the Family. I will not deny but that it is by ſome reported, that *Petro*'s Father was born beyond the *Poe*, and that he was one of thoſe that were wont to travel out of *Umbria* among the *Sabines*, and there hire themſelves out at ſmall Wages to manure their Ground. But that he ſettl'd at *Reate*, where he alſo marry'd his Wife

But

* *For Argentary Coalitions were the Collections of Money upon the Sale of forfeited and ſeiz'd Goods; which there were a ſort of Perſons who made it their buſineſs to redeem from the Purchaſer, and ſell again to the owners for a moderate profit, and by that means got a good Livelihood. And ſuch a Trade did this* T. Flavius *follow.*

† *Now* Norcia, *a ſmall City in* Umbria, *under the Pope's Juriſdiction, at the Foot of the* Apennine, *ſix Miles from the Marquiſate of* Ancona.

‖ Spoleto, *under the Juriſdiction of the Pope, of which place Cardinal* Barberini, *afterwards* Urban *the* VIII, *was Biſhop.*

But for my own part I have ſearch'd with all the Curioſity imaginable, but never yet could find the leaſt Footſtep of any Authority to perſwade me to believe it.

2. *VESPASIAN* was born in the Country of the * *Sabines* in a ſmall Village, call'd by the name of † *Phalacrine*, the Seventeenth of *November* toward the Evening, in the Conſulſhip of *Q. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *C. Poppæus Sabinus*, five years before the deceaſe of *Auguſtus*, and was brought up by *Tertullia*, his Grand-mother by the Fathers ſide, in a Farm ſhe had adjoyning to ‖ *Coſſa*. Wherefore when he came to the Empire, he frequently viſited this Place, where he had been bred up in his Infancy, without any alteration of the Houſe from what it was, that he might not be depriv'd of what his Eyes had been accuſtom'd to ſee. Beſides he ſo highly honour'd the Memory of his Grand-Mother, that upon Solemn and Feſtival days he drank out of a little Silver Tumbler, that had been hers in her life time. When he came to put on the *Gown of Manhood*, for a long time he refus'd the broad Purple Stud, or Senators Habit, though his Brother had aſſum'd it; nor could he be prevail'd with to demand it, till the Importunities of his Mother over-rul'd him, rather by her reproaches than her entreaties and Maternal Authority, who would often in deriſion call him his Brothers Uſher. In *Thrace* he ſerv'd as a Collonel of Foot. When he came to be Quæſtor, he obtain'd by Lot the Provinces of *Creet* and *Cyrene*. When he ſtood *Candidate* for the *Edile's* Office, and after that for the *Prætorſhip*, he obtain'd the firſt with much ado, and that too in the ſixth Place. But the Chief

* *Now* Umbria.

† *Still retaining the name of* Falacrino.

‖ *Now* Anſedoma, *formerly ruined by the Emperor* Charles *the* Great; *and at preſent a ſmall Village under the Duke of* Tuſcany.

Prætorſhip was granted him upon his firſt Requeſt. In which Office, having taken a diſguſt againſt the Senate, he omitted no manner of ſedulity to gain the Favour of *Caius*, he demanded permiſſion to exhibit extraordinary Shews, upon the Victory which the Emperor had obtain'd in *Germany*; and added to the Puniſhment of the Conſpirators, that their executed Bodies ſhould be caſt forth upon the Suburb *Mixens* unburied. He alſo return'd him thanks in a full Senate, for that he had vouchſafed him the Honour of inviting him to Supper.

3. Much about the ſame time he marry'd *Flavia Domitilla*, who had formerly been a Slave to *Statillius Capella*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, born at *Sabrata*, and by him brought out of *Africa* into *Italy*, but afterwards pronounc'd Free born, and a Citizen of *Rome* by the Judgment of the * *Recoverers*. Her Father *Flavius Liberalis*, born at *Ferentum*, ſticking cloſe to her in her Appeal, though no more than a Queſtor's or Treaſurer's Clerk. By her he had three Children, *Titus*, *Domitian*, and a Daughter nam'd alſo *Domitilla*. He out-liv'd his Wife and his Daughter in the Condition of a private Perſon. But after his Wives deceaſe, he recall'd to the Society of his Bed *Cenis*, *Antonia's* enfranchiz'd Bondmaid, and *Amanuenſis* likewiſe, for whom he had formerly a very great kindneſs, and when he was Emperor eſteem'd and kept her as if ſhe had been his lawful Wife.

* *The Recoverers were Judges aſſign'd by the Prætor to hear the Complaints of ſuch as thought themſelves wrong'd, for the recovery of their loſt Goods, Properties, or Privileges. And thus it ſeems that* Domitilla *ſuing for the loſt Privilege of her Birth-right, gain'd it by the Sentence of the* Recoverers.

4. In

4. In the Reign of *Claudius*, by the favour of *Narciſſus*, he was ſent Lieutenant of a Legion into *Germany*, and thence being remov'd into *Britain*, he fought three pitch'd Battels with the Enemy, ſubdu'd two powerful Nations, and took above twenty Towns, together with the Iſle of *Wight*, that lyes upon the Coaſt of *Britain*; and all this partly under the Command of *Aulus Plantius* a Conſular Lieutenant, partly under the Conduct of the Emperor *Claudius* himſelf; for which he was Honour'd with Triumphal Ornaments, and in a ſhort time with two Sacerdotal Dignities, as alſo with a Conſulſhip, which he held but only the two laſt Months of the year. After that, the intervening part of his time till his Proconſulſhip, he ſpent in Leiſure and Retirement, leading a private Life; fearing *Agrippina*, at that time Powerful with her Son, and mortally hating the Friends of deceas'd *Narciſſus*. Afterwards the Government of *Africa* falling to his Lot, he manag'd his Affairs with great Integrity and highly to his Honour, ſaving that once at *Adrumetum*, in a certain Tumult, he had Turneps thrown at him by the Rabble. Certain it is, that he return'd not at all improv'd in Wealth, ſo that he was forc'd to mortgage his Lands to his Brother to redeem his Credit and pay his Debts; and for the ſupport of his Dignity was neceſſitated to Trade in buying and ſelling of Horſes, for which reaſon he was vulgarly Nick-nam'd the *Horſe Courſer*. He is alſo reported to have been convicted of extorting 200000 *Seſterces* from a young Gentleman, for procuring him allowance to wear the *Broad Purple Stud*, againſt his Fathers Will; for which

he was ſeverely check'd. He attended *Nero* in his Voyage into *Achaia*, but highly incurr'd his Diſpleaſure, for that when the Emperor was ſinging, he would always either ſlip out of the Room, or fall aſleep in the midſt of the Muſick. Inſomuch that being by the Emperor not only forbid his Preſence, but from Publick Salutation, he retir'd to a ſmall City quite out of the way, where he lay hid in continual fear of his Life, till he was offer'd the Command both of a Province and an Army. At the ſame time there was a ſort of an old Oracle reviv'd, which had ſpread it ſelf all over the *Eaſt* a long time before, *That the Fates had ſo decreed, that the Empire ſhould be poſſeſs'd by Perſons coming from* Judæa. Which Propheſie being meant of the *Roman* Emperor, as the Event made manifeſt, the Jews applying to themſelves, brake out into open Rebellion, and after they had ſlain the Governour, put to flight the Conſular Lieutenant, that came to his Aſſiſtance and took the Imperial Eagle. The ſuppreſſion of this Rebellion requir'd a far more numerous Army, and ſuch a General in whoſe Conduct and Experience the Empire might confide for the management of ſo important an Affair. Nor was any one thought more fit than *Veſpaſian*, a Perſon of known Valour and Induſtry, and as it was conceiv'd, no way to be ſuſpected by reaſon of the meanneſs of his Extraction and the obſcurity of his Name. His Army therefore being reinforc'd with two Legions, Eight Wings of Horſe, and ten Cohorts of Foot, with permiſſion to take along with him his eldeſt Son for one of his Lieutenants, as ſoon as he arriv'd in the Province, he drew upon him the admiration

ration of all the Provinces adjoyning, by the Reformation he made in the Diſcipline of the Camp, his ſucceſs in two Battels, and his courage in the ſtorming a Caſtle, where he receiv'd an unlucky blow upon his Knee with a Stone, and had his Target ſtuck full of Arrows.

5. After the death of *Nero* and *Galba*, when *Otho* and *Vitellius* came to contend for the Soveraignty, he began to conceive ſome hopes of obtaining the Empire himſelf; which ſeem'd to be portended by the enſuing Prodigies. In a Houſe belonging to the *Flavii*, within the Suburbs of the City, there ſtood an old Oak, which at three ſeveral times juſt before *Veſpaſia* was brought to bed, all of a ſudden every time put forth particular Boughs and Branches, the unqueſtionable Prognoſticks of the future Fate of all the Children. The firſt was ſlender and quickly wither'd again, and therefore the Daughter that was then born liv'd not to be above a year old: The ſecond ſtrong and tall, and which portended great Felicity; but the third was large and flouriſhing, like a Tree of ſome years growth. Wherefore it is reported, that the Father *Sabinus* being confirm'd by the Soothſayer, told his Mother, *That ſhe had a Grand-child born, who would be one day Emperor*; at which the aged Lady could not chooſe but laugh, admiring, *That while ſhe was yet in her perfect Senſes, that her Son ſhould rave at ſuch a rate.* When he came to be advanc'd to the Edileſhip, the Emperor being angry that the Streets were not ſwept clean, order'd the Soldiers to take up a good handful of Dirt, and ſtop it into the Boſom of his *Edile's* Robe. Upon which many made this obſervation, that the time

time would come when the Commonwealth being trampled under foot, and laid waſt by Civil Diſſention, ſhould fly to him for Refuge, and as it were ſeek for ſhelter in his Boſom. One time, as he was at Dinner, a ſtrange Dog brought a Mans Hand in his Mouth into the Room and laid it under the Table. Another time, as he was at Supper, a Ploughing Ox, having caſt off his Yoke, brake into his Parlour, and having frighted away the Servants, as if he had been tir'd of a ſudden, laid himſelf down at his Feet as he ſate, and put his Neck in his Lap. Moreover in a certain Field that belong'd to his Anceſtors, there was a Cypreſs Tree, which without the violence of any Storm or Tempeſt was torn up by the Roots, and laid all along upon the Ground at the full length; but the next day was found growing again more ſteady in the Earth, and more verdant than before. In *Achaia* he had alſo a Dream, that his own and the Felicity of his Family ſhould commence upon the pulling out of one of *Nero*'s Teeth; and it ſo fell out, that the next day coming into the Court, he met the Surgeon who ſhew'd him the Tooth which he had drawn. In *Judæa*, after he had conſulted the Oracle of the God *Carmel*, the anſwer was ſo favourable to him, as to promiſe him ſuch ſucceſs, that whatſoever he thought or wiſh'd for in his Mind ſhould certainly come to paſs, how great ſoever were the things which he deſir'd. And among the Nobility of the Jews, that were taken Priſoners, there was one *Joſephus*, who was caſt into Irons, yet conſtantly and boldly affirm'd, that he ſhould in a ſhort time be releas'd by *Veſpaſian*, though not before he was Emperor.

From

From *Rome* alſo he had notice of ſeveral Portents which daily happen'd. Among the reſt this was one, that *Nero* was admoniſh'd in a dream to remove *Jupiters* Shrine out of the Chappel where it ſtood, into *Veſpaſian*'s Houſe, and from thence into the *Circus*. And not long after, when *Galba* enter'd the Aſſembly, ſummon'd to elect him the ſecond time Conſul, the Statue of *Julius Cæſar* turn'd about of its ſelf to the *Eaſt*. Alſo at *Bebriacum* when the Armies were both drawn up, before the Battel began, two Eagles were ſeen fighting in the Air till the one was vanquiſh'd; at what time there appear'd alſo a third from the *Eaſt*, which overcame and drave away the Victor.

6. Nevertheleſs he never made any attempt, though his Friends were all ready, and urgent with him to declare, till importun'd and invited by ſeveral Perſons that were abſent and unknown. Two thouſand Men drawn out of three Legions belonging to the Army of *Mæſia* were ſent to aſſiſt *Otho*; who having receiv'd Intelligence upon their March, that he was overthrown, and had laid violent hands upon himſelf: Nevertheleſs advanc'd as far as *Aquileia*, as if they had given little Credit to the Rumor. There laying hold of the opportunity, they abandon'd themſelves to all manner of Licentiouſneſs and Rapine; but fearing upon their return to be call'd to an account, and ſeverely puniſh'd, they enter'd into debate one among another, and at length agreed to ſet up an Emperor of their own chuſing. For that they were not inferior either to the *Spaniſh* Army who had elected *Galba*, nor to the *Prætorians* who had made choice of *Otho*, nor the *Germans* who

who had advanc'd *Vitellius*. Thereupon the Names of all the Conſular Legates than in Command being propos'd, and ſome rejecting one, and ſome another, upon various Allegations, at length ſome of the third Legion, which had been remov'd out of *Judea* into *Mœſia* toward the latter end of *Nero*'s Reign, began to extol *Veſpaſian*. Upon that, no Man like him, they all unanimoſly cry'd out, and preſently without delay they inſcrib'd his Name into their Enſigns. However they thought fit to conceal their Choice for a time, till the Soldiers were reduc'd to better order. But when the Election came to be divulg'd, *Tiberius Alexander*, Governor of *Ægypt*, was the firſt who compell'd the Legions to ſwear Fealty to *Veſpaſian*, upon the firſt of *July*, which day was afterwards obſerv'd as the firſt day of his coming to the Empire. Then the whole Army in *Judea* ſwore the ſame Oath before him, being perſonally preſent, upon the Eleventh of the ſame Month. There was one thing more that very much encourag'd him to proceed, which was the Copy of a Letter thrown about, whether true or counterfeit is uncertain, but ſaid to be written by *Otho* a little before his death, conjuring him with all the vehemency imaginable to revenge his Blood, and requeſting him to reſcue the Periſhing Commonwealth from utter Ruin. Alſo a Rumour was ſpread abroad that *Vitellius* had deſign'd, if he obtain'd the Victory, to change the Winter Quarters of the Legions, and remove the *German* Forces into the Eaſtern Parts, where the War was more eaſie and leſs hazardous. Among the Governors of the Provinces, and confederate Princes that favour'd this change, *Licinius Mucianus*,

cianus, laying aſide the Animoſity which out of Emulation till that time he had born him all along, promis'd him the Aſſiſtance of the *Syrian* Army, and *Vologeſus* King of the *Parthians*, Forty thouſand Archers on Horſeback.

7. The Civil War being thus begun, after he had order'd the March of his Captains and Forces before into *Italy*, he paſs'd himſelf to *Alexandria*, that ſo he might poſſeſs himſelf of the Keys of * *Ægypt*. While he ſtaid there, he went privately and *incognito* into the Temple of *Serapis*, to conſult the ſucceſs of his Affairs, and the future ſettlement of his Empire. At what time, after he had by all manner of Ceremonies ſought to render the Deity propitious, and turn'd about his Body, according to the uſual Rites of Adoration, † *Baſilides* the High-Prieſt ſeem'd to appear to him, and offer him Garlands of *Vervain*, Crowns and unleavened Bread, according to the cuſtom of that place; though it were certain that no body had let him into the Temple; beſides that it was well known that he had lain ſo long ill by reaſon of a weakneſs in his Nerves, that he was hardly able to go, and moreover that he was at the ſame time a great way remote from the Temple. Preſently upon this came Letters that *Vitellius* was overthrown at *Cremona*, and that he himſelf was murder'd in *Rome*. At firſt there was ſomething wanting of that Majeſty and awful Aſpect, which became a Prince ſo unexpectedly and ſuddenly advanc'd;

* *Or rather, as* Joſephus *Expreſſes the true Reaſon, that having* Egypt, *which was the Granary of* Rome, *he might have a Curb upon that City; believing that the* Romans *for fear of a Famin, would ſtick to his Party.*

‡ *Fe.* Torrentius *throws out the word* Libertus, *as having nothing to do in this place, and aſſures us that* Baſilides *was not only the High-Prieſt of this Temple, but that his Juriſdiction reach'd as far as* Carmel *in* Judæa.

vanc'd; but his good Fortune ſoon ſupply'd him with both: For as he was ſitting upon his Tribunal, two Poor Men, the one blind, the other lame, came both together, and throwing themſelves at his Feet, moſt humbly beſought him to cure their Imperfections; the one affirming that it had been reveal'd to him by *Serapis* in a dream, that if he pleas'd but to ſpit upon his Eyes, his ſight ſhould be reſtor'd; the other deſiring only that he would but touch his lame Leg with his Heel, to effect his Cure. But in regard he had not Faith enough to believe them, and was altogether doubtful of the ſucceſs, he was at firſt afraid to try the Experiment, till being encourag'd by his Friends, he made an attempt upon both, which fell out according to his wiſhes. About the ſame time alſo at *Tegæa* in *Arcadia*, the Soothſayers being mov'd by a Prophetick impulſe to encourage the undertaking, ſeveral Veſſels that were ancient Peices of Workmanſhip were digg'd up, the Sculptures of which exactly reſembl'd *Veſpaſian*.

8. Returning to *Rome* with ſo much Grandeur and Fame of his Miracles, after he had triumph'd over the Jews, he added eight Conſulſhips more to his firſt under *Claudius*. He alſo took upon him the *Cenſorſhip*, and through the whole Courſe of his Reign, there was nothing which he deem'd more Sacred, than firſt to reeſtabliſh the almoſt ruin'd and tottering Commonwealth, and next to beautifie and adorn it. The Soldiers, partly confident that their Victories would protect them from puniſhment, or out of a ſence of their ignominy in upholding *Vitellius*, gave themſelves up to all manner of Licentiouſneſs. Some Provinces, and ſome Free

Free Cities, nay ſome Kingdoms began to Mutiny. Wherefore he disbanded moſt of the *Vitellians*, and puniſh'd others. But as to thoſe that were the Inſtruments and ſharers with him in his Victory, he was ſo far from being exorbitant in rewarding them, that it was a long time before he paid them their juſt Dues. And that he might not omit any opportunity of reforming the Diſorders of Martial Diſcipline, when a young Centleman, richly perfum'd with fragrant Oyntments, came to return him thanks for ſome conſiderable Command which he had beſtow'd upon him, he not only caſt a diſdainful nod upon him, but with a tone of Indignation giving him a ſevere Check, *I had rather*, ſaid he, *thou hadſt ſtunck of Garlick*, and revok'd his Commiſſion. And as for the Seamen, that travail a foot by turns, from *Oſtia* and *Puteoli* to *Rome*, becauſe they petition'd, *That they might have a certain allowance to buy them Shooes*; as if it had not been enough to ſend them away without an anſwer, he order'd that for the time to come they ſhould run barefoot, as they have done ever ſince. *Achaia*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos* he depriv'd of their Freedom; alſo *Thracia*, *Cilicia* and *Commagene*, which before that time had been all govern'd by their own Kings, he reduc'd into Provinces; and for the defence of *Cappadocia*, by reaſon of the daily incurſions of the *Barbarians*, he added a ſupply of more Legions; and inſtead of a *Roman* Knight, he committed the Government of that Province to a Conſular Deputy Lieutenant. And becauſe the City was much defac'd by Conflagration and decays of building, he gave permiſſion to any one that would to rebuild

build upon the void Ground, if the owners neglected to do it themſelves. He undertook himſelf the Reſtoration of the Capitol, and to that purpoſe was the firſt that ſet a hand to the cleanſing of the Ruins, and carry'd ſome Baſkets of Earth away upon his own Shoulders. He alſo took upon him to reſtore the Three thouſand Plates of Braſs which had been utterly defac'd in the Fire, cauſing diligent ſearch to be made for the trueſt Copies to ſupply the loſs of that fair and ancient Inſtrument of the Empire, wherein were contain'd almoſt from the very foundations of the City all the Decrees of the Senate, all the Foreign Leagues and Confederacies, and all Privileges whatſoever granted either to private Perſons, or publick Corporations.

9. He alſo erected ſeveral new Structures; as the Temple of *Peace* next to the Market-Place; the Temple of *Divus Claudius* upon the *Cælian* Hill, begun by *Agrippina*, but utterly demoliſh'd by *Nero*, and the Amphitheater in the middle of the City, as he underſtood had been formerly deſign'd by *Auguſtus*. The *Senatorian* and *Equeſtrian Orders*, which had been exhauſted by Maſſacres incredible, and defil'd through the admiſſion of mean and ſpurious Members through the neglect of Former Emperors, he throughly purg'd, after a general review both of the Senate and Gentry, removing ſuch as he found unworthy, and ſupplying their Places with the moſt Noble and Honourable that he could cull either out of *Italy* or the Provinces. And to the end it might be known that the difference between thoſe Orders did not conſiſt ſo much in the diſtinction of Liberty as

of

of Dignity, he gave this Sentence in a ſquabble between a Senator and a *Roman* Knight, *That it was not lawful to give bad Language to a Senator firſt; but if a Senator began, it was both Civil and Lawful for a* Roman *Knight to return him as good as he brought.*

10. Law Suits and Proceſſes were become ſo numerous and bulky, what with old Actions that lay undetermin'd, by reaſon of the long Ceſſation of Juſtice, and others newly commenc'd, according to the diſorderly condition of the Times. To remedy theſe Inconveniencies, he made choice by Lot of certain Perſons to make reſtitution of their Goods and Eſtates, which had been violently torn from them in the time of the Civil Wars; and as ſupernumeraries, to determin the Cauſes that lay before the *Centumviri*, which would have elſe requir'd the whole attendance of a long-liv'd Clyent to bring to an end, and reduce them to as ſmall a number as poſſible might be.

11. Luſt and Luxury, while there was no reſtraint of Law, were become the general Corruptions of the Age. Therefore to put a check to theſe Debaucheries, he procur'd himſelf a Decree of the Senate, that what Woman ſoever us'd unlawful familiarity with another Mans Servant ſhould loſe her Freedom. And that it ſhould be unlawful for any Uſurer to demand from any Heir a Debt contracted by Money lent upon great diſadvantages, to be paid upon the death of his Father. In other things, from the beginning of his Reign to the end, he obſerv'd great Moderation and Clemency.

12. He was ſo far from concealing the meanneſs of his former Condition, that he frequent-

ly took occaſion to boaſt of it. And whereas there were ſome Perſons, who out of flattery made it their buſineſs to deduce the Original of the *Flavian* Family from the Founder of *Reate*, the Companion of *Hercules*, whoſe Monument is ſtill to be ſeen upon the *Salarian* Road, he derided their vain and ridiculous Adulation: And was ſo far from greedily coveting the Vanity of outward Pomp and Ornaments, that upon the day of his Triumph being tir'd with the tediouſneſs and ſlow proceſſion of the Ceremony, he could not refrain from crying out, *That he was juſtly puniſh'd, for having in his old age ſo idly deſir'd a Triumph, as if either due to his Anceſtors, or ever expected by himſelf.* Nor would he accept of the Tribunitial Authority, or of the Title of FATHER OF THE COUNTRY, till toward the latter end of his Reign. For as for the Cuſtom of ſending to enquire for Perſons to come and pay him their Morning Salutations, he had quite left it off, before the end of the Civil War.

13. He took little or no notice of the Freedom which his Friends aſſum'd in their Diſcourſe, nor of the ſlye Reflections of the Lawyers, nor of the downright Clowniſhneſs of the Philoſophers. *Licinius Mutianus* a Perſon of a ſcandalous unchaſtity, yet preſuming upon his Merits, and therefore behaving himſelf with leſs reſpect to his Perſon than became him, he never rebuk'd but in private; and once upon a time complaining of his Carriage to one that was a Friend to both, he concluded with this Expreſſion, *And yet I am but a Man.* He commended *Salvius Liberalis*, for preſuming to ſay, while he was pleading for a Wealthy Offender, *What*

is

it it to Cæſar, *if* Hipparchus *be worth a hunder'd Millions of Seſterces? Demetrius* the *Cynick* meeting him upon the Road, after he had condemn'd him to exile, and neither vouchſafing to riſe nor to ſalute him, but railing and barking out foul Language againſt him, he only call'd Dog, and ſo left him.

14. He was ſo far from hoarding up Reſentments either of new Injuries or old Animoſities, or from ſeeking Revenge, that he marry'd the Daughter of his Enemy *Vitellius* to a Perſon of great Honour, and gave her a Dowry accordingly. In the Reign of *Nero*, being forbid the Court, and in a great Conſternation, as not knowing what courſe to take, queſtioning with ſome of his Friends whether he ſhould retire for ſhelter, one of the Officers for Admiſſion or Chamber-waiters, *bid him go to* * Morbonia. Afterwards when this fellow came to beg his Pardon, he never ſhew'd any farther Paſſion, but only bid him begon, much in the ſame Language as he had given him before. Moreover he was ſo far from being incens'd to the ruin of any Perſon by the Inſtigations of Fear or Suſpition, that when ſome of his Friends adviſ'd him to beware of *Metius Pompoſianus*, becauſe he was vulgarly reported to be born under an Imperial Conſtellation, he preſently made him Conſul, aſſuring them, *That he could never forget ſo great a kindneſs.*

* *A made word; as much as to ſay,* Diſeaſe land; *or according to the vulgar Phraſe,* Bid him go hang himſelf.

15. It was rarely known that ever any Innocent Perſon was puniſh'd during all his Reign, unleſs in his abſence, and he not knowing any thing of it, or that he were deceiv'd by Miſrepreſentation. *Helvidius Priſcus*, who was the only Perſon that ſaluted him at his re-

turn from *Syria* by his private name of *Veſpaſian*, and when he was *Prætor* paſs'd him by in all his Decrees without the leaſt reſpect or mention at all, could never move him to take notice of theſe Indignities, till his continu'd Inſolencies were ſuch, as levell'd him with the meaneſt of the vulgar; and after he had firſt baniſh'd him, then order'd him to be put to death, yet he deem'd it more noble to ſave him if poſſible; and to that purpoſe ſending away Poſt to recal the Executioners, had certainly preſerv'd him, had he not been made believe that the Execution was over before the Meſſengers arriv'd. Nor did he ever rejoyce at the deſtruction of any Man, but wept and bewail'd the deſerved ſufferings of the Guilty.

16. The only thing that render'd him obnoxious to the talk of the World was his Covetouſneſs. For not contented to revive the Taxes and Impoſitions remitted by *Galba*, he ſtill impos'd new Duties and more burthenſom, not only augmenting but doubling the Tributes in ſome Provinces. He alſo drave ſome ſorts of Trades, that a private Perſon would have been aſham'd of, buying up and engroſſing ſeveral Commodities that he might ſell them again at a dear rate. Nor did he refrain from the ſale of Offices to thoſe who ſtood for preferment; nor from ſelling Pardons to all that were Condemn'd, if of ability to purchaſe their Lives, let them be never ſo Guilty or Criminal. It was alſo reported to be his cuſtom to promote the moſt greedy and griping of his Officers to the moſt gainful Employments, that he might have the advantage of their opulent Confiſcations upon Complaints made againſt them; whom

whom he was vulgarly ſaid to make the ſame uſe as of Spunges, which when they were dry he laid in Water and ſqueez'd when they were thorough wet. Some there are who report him covetous from his Infancy, and that he was upbraided with it by an old Cow-keeper that ſerv'd him, who earneſtly Petitioning, after he came to the Empire, that he might have his liberty *Gratis*, and being deny'd, cry'd out, *The Fox changes his Hair, but never his Conditions.* Others there are who believe him neceſſitated to theſe Rapines and Extortions, through the extream exigency of the Publick Treaſury, in regard he had openly declar'd at the beginning of his Reign, *That it was impoſſible for the Commonwealth to ſubſiſt without* * *Forty Millions of Seſterces.* Which is moſt probable, in regard that whatever he ſcrap'd together by undue and diſhonorable means, he ſtill employ'd to the benefit of the Publick.

* *Or a Hunder'd thouſand thouſand Crowns.*

17. His Bounty extended to all ſorts of Men; he made up the † Revenues of the Senators, and ſupply'd the Indigences of thoſe that were of Conſular Dignity with an annual Penſion of Twelve thouſand Crowns; and moreover he repair'd moſt of the Cities under the Dominion of the *Roman* Empire that had been ruin'd by Fire or Earthquakes.

† *Which according to the augmentation of* Auguſtus *amounted to Thirty thouſand Crowns.*

18. More eſpecially he was a great Incourager of Arts and Ingenuity, as being the firſt that ſettl'd annual Penſions of Two thouſand five hunder'd Crowns a year upon the *Latin* and *Greek* Rhetoricians. All the moſt excellent Poets and Artificers he invited into his Service with conſiderable Allowances; and bountifully preſented the Perſon that repair'd the *Coloſſus*

with a Noble Reward out of his own Purſe, beſides his ample Wages upon the publick Score. A certain Mechanick alſo that proffer'd to bring Columns of a Prodigious weight to adorn the Capitol at a ſmall expence, he ſent away well ſatisfi'd for his Invention, but excus'd his performance, telling him withal, *That 'twas fit the Poor People ſhould live.*

19. As an additional Ornament to the Plays that were acted at the Dedication of the Scenes of the *Marcellian* Theater, he reviv'd the ancient *Dramatick* Rehearſals and Songs. To *Apollinaris* the *Tragedian* he gave Four thouſand Crowns in Gold. To *Terpnus* and *Diodorus*, both Eminent Harpers, Two thouſand Crowns in Gold a peice; to others he gave a Thouſand Crowns in Gold; and to thoſe to whom he gave leaſt he allow'd Four hunder'd Crowns in Gold. He feaſted frequently, and for the moſt part regularly and magnificently, that he might help the Butchers and Poulterers. Upon the *Saturnalian* Holy-days he diſtributed New-years Gifts to the Men, and to the Ladys in the Calends of *March*. And yet would not all this obliterate the ſcandal of his former Avarice. Inſomuch that the *Alexandrians*, an abuſive and lampooning ſort of People, call'd him *Skin-flint*, as long as he liv'd, a Nick-name which they had beſtow'd upon one of their Kings for his notorious Parſimony. Moreover at his Funeral, *Favor* the *Arch-Mimick*, repreſenting his Perſon, and as the Cuſtom was imitating his Words and Actions when he was alive, openly demanded of thoſe that had the management and ordering of the Ceremony, *What might be the Expence of the Funeral?* Who being anſwer'd, *Two hunder'd and fifty thouſand Crowns*

Crowns in Gold, cry'd out, as if it had been *Veſpaſian* who had ſpoke, *Give me but a quarter of the Money and throw my Body into* Tiber *if you pleaſe.*

20. He was of a middle Stature, neither too tall nor too low; his Limbs firm and well compacted; but his Aſpect not ſo graceful, as one that look'd like a Man in a ſtraining Poſture. Which occaſion'd one of the Wits of that Time to put a Jeaſt upon him; ſo that when the Emperor bid him *ſpeak on what he had to ſay*; *I ſhall, Sir*, reply'd the other, *ſo ſoon as you have done eaſing your ſelf.* He enjoy'd a moſt Excellent Conſtitution of Health, though he us'd no other means to preſerve it, then giving his Jaws and the reſt of his Limbs juſt ſo many rubs in the Tennis-Court and no more, and abſtaining from all manner of Food one day in a Month.

21. His method of living was generally this: When he was Emperor he ſate up late, but roſe early; then after he had read all his Letters, and the Breviaries of all his Officers, he gave admiſſion to his Friends; and while they were paying him their Morning Salutes, and entertaining him with Diſcourſe, he put on his Cloaths and his Shoes himſelf. After which, having diſpatch'd ſuch buſineſs as was brought before him, he betook himſelf to * *Geſtation*, and ſo to his repoſe; at what time ſome one of his Concubines lay by him all the while, of which he had a great number after the death of *Cænis*. And from this retirement he went firſt to the Bath, and thence to his Dining-Room. And then it was that he was always

* *A Cuſtom then among great Perſonages to Exerciſe their Bodies by the Motion of Carriage, either in a Litter, a Sedan, or a Chariot, which they did as well for the preſervation of Health, as for Pleaſure and Grandeur.*

in the most pleasant and indulgent Humour; which was the reason that his Servants and Attendants always watch'd those opportunities when they had any Boon to beg.

22. At Supper, and at all times else, he was wont to be very familiar and facetious with his Friends; for he was very much given to drolling; and that sometimes so broad and scurrillously, that he could hardly refrain from obscenity it self. Yet there are some sayings of his which are very witty. *Menstrius Florus*, having taken him up one time for his Pronunciation, and telling him it was more proper to say *Plaustra* then *Plostra*, when he came the next Morning into the *Presence*, he bid him good Morrow, by the Name of *Flaurus*. Being persecuted by a certain Curtesan, that pretended to be ready to dye for Love of him, at length he yielded to her Imbraces, and enjoy'd her, and gave her Four hunder'd Sesterces for her kindness out of his own private Purse; which when his Steward came to know how he would have it plac'd to his Accompt, *To* Vespasian, said he, *for being belov'd.*

23. He would many times make use of *Greek* Verses very patly to his purpose. And thus speaking of a certain Poet, that was monstrously tall, and withal very deformed, he repeated this Verse out of *Homer*,

Μακρὰ βιβὰς, κραδαῶν δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος.

A stalking Stallion, brandishing a Spear
As long as that which Hector once did bear.

But more remarkable were those which he repeated upon *Cerylus*, one of his enfranchis'd Bond-

Bond-men, who being grown Rich, to avoid refunding into the Exchequer * at his death, call'd himself by the Name of *Laches*, and pretended to be Free born: and that was the Reason he shew'd him his Folly by the following Distick of † *Menander*,

* *For the* Latin *Slaves tho being enfranchis'd they were Free for their Lives, yet they lost their Liberty with their last Breath, and the Patron seiz'd half their Estates if they dy'd without Children.*

† *Only* Laches *and* Cerylus *are the words of* Vespasian.

Ὦ Λαχης, Λαχης ἐπὰν ἀποθάνης
Α'ύθις ἐξ αρχῆς ἔσῃ κήρυλος

O Laches Laches, *thou forgetst that when.*
Thou dyest, thou wilt be Cerylus ‖ *again.*

‖ *As much as to say he would not be able to avoid the seizing of his Estate by Checker Process after his Decease.*

Nevertheless he affected loquacity in his Discourses of the sordid ways of getting Money; to wipe away the reproach of the Fact, either by means of some fallacious Paradox, or else by putting the thing off with a Jeast. Thus after he had delay'd for some time one of his most favour'd Ministers that begg'd of him an extraordinary Stewardship for a certain Friend, who, as he said, was as dear to him as his Brother, he sent for the Person himself that stood for the Employment, and upon payment of the Sum which the Man had bargain'd to give his Sollicitor, order'd him forthwith the Possession of the Office. Soon after, when his Favourite renew'd his Petition to him again in behalf of his Friend, not knowing what was done; *Thou wilt do well to find out another Brother*, said he, *for he whom thou tak'st for thy Brother is mine.* Being upon a Journey, and suspecting that his Chariot-driver had alighted to shoe his Mules, that he might

might give time and leiſure to a Sollicitor to lay open his Cauſe, the Emperor ask'd him what the Sollicitor had given him to make that ſtop; and bargain'd with him to have part of his Gain. His Son *Titus* reproving him, that he had invented a Tribute upon Urine, he put his Noſe to the Money that had been gather'd upon the firſt Payment, and ask'd him whether the ſmell offended him? which he denying, *However*, ſaid he, *This Money comes out of Piſs.* Certain Meſſengers bringing him news that there was a Statue of a prodigious bigneſs and an extraordinary value publickly Decreed him; he commanded them to erect it preſently, and ſhewing them the Hollow of his Hand, *Look ye*, ſaid he, *here is a Baſis ready.* Nor did he refrain from his Jokes in the extream fear and danger of death. For when among the reſt of the Prodigies, the *Mauſoleum* of the *Cæſars* of a ſudden flew open, and a Comet appear'd in the Sky; *The one*, ſaid he, *relates to* Junia Calvina, *of the Family of* Auguſtus, *and the other to the King of the* Parthians *by reaſon of his long Hair.* And upon the firſt Fit of his Diſtemper, *I believe*, ſaid he, *I am ſuddenly to be a God.*

24. In his Ninth Conſulſhip being attack'd in *Campania* with ſome little ſlight Motions, and thereupon immediately haſtning back to the City, in his way he took the * *Cutylian* Lake, and the delightful Fields of *Reate*, where he was wont every year to ſpend the greateſt part of the Summer. Where having weakn'd his Inteſtines by the too frequent uſe of cold Water, while his Diſtemper was ſtill growing upon him, nevertheleſs ſo far from refraining from publick Buſineſs according to his Cuſtom, that he

* *Now* Lago di Contigliano.

he gave Audience to Embaſſadors as he lay upon his Bed, he was taken with a ſudden looſeneſs even to fainting Fits, inſomuch that he cry'd, *It behoves an Emperor to dye ſtanding.* And upon that riſing upon his Feet, and leaning upon thoſe about him, he dy'd in the Arms of thoſe that ſupported him, the Eighth of the Calends of *July*, after he had liv'd Sixty nine years, one Month and ſeven days.

25. It is agreed by all Writers, that he was ſo confident of his own and the Nativity of his Children, that after ſeveral Conſpiracies againſt him were detected, he made no ſcruple to affirm in the Senate, *That either his Sons would ſucceed him or no Man.* It is alſo reported of him, that one Night he ſaw in his ſleep a Ballance erected in the middle of the *Portico* of the *Palatine* Houſe, and in one of the Scales *Claudius* and *Nero*, in the other himſelf and his Sons, ſo equally pois'd that neither out-weigh'd the other: And juſt according to his Dream it fell out, for that for ſo many years and for ſo long time as the two firſt Reign'd, ſo long the others held the Empire.

THE

T. FLAVIUS. VESPAS. AUG.

THE LIFE OF TITUS VESPASIANUS AUG.

Done into *Engliſh* by *E. O.* Gent.

1. TITUS, ſurnam'd alſo *Veſpaſian*, as his Father was, liv'd not without the publick hatred, and indeed the obloquy of the world, while he was a private Man and under the Emperor his Father; and yet when it was moſt difficult of all, being advanc'd to the Empire, whether it were the effect of his excellent Humour and taking Addreſs, (apt to win the favour of the People) or merely his good Fortune, he was univerſally call'd, *The Darling and the Delight of Mankind.*

2. He was born the Third of the Calends of *January*, which is *December* 30*th.* in that year which by the Aſſaſſination of *Caius Caligula* was render'd remarkable, not far from the * *Septizo-*

* *Call'd alſo* Septizodium *and* Septiſolium; *a vaſt Structure erected by* Severus, *concerning the form of which the Criticks are not agreed. 'Tis ſaid to have been ſo high that the top of it might be ſeen by thoſe who ſail'd on the Coaſt of* Africa. *Three rows of Pillars, part of it, remain'd even till the laſt Age; but Pope* Sixtus V. *pull'd them down, leſt their fall, which was much fear'd, ſhould do miſchief to the Neighbourhood.*

nium,

nium, in a little dark Room at a ſcurvy Houſe, which is yet ſtanding and is ſhew'd to Strangers. He was brought up at Court together with *Britannicus* under the ſame Tutors, and to the ſame Exerciſes. At which time, 'tis ſaid, *Narciſſus* the Freedman and Favourite of *Claudius*, bringing a Phyſiognomiſt to make a Judgement upon the Countenance of *Britannicus*, he foretold it poſitively, that as for him he ſhould never come to be Emperor, but that *Titus*, who ſtood by, ſhould attain it. Theſe two were ſo intimate, that 'twas thought *Titus*, who ſate near him, taſted of the Poiſonous draught by which *Britannicus* was diſpatch'd, and was ſick of it long after. Of all which he was not forgetful afterwards, ſetting up his Statue in Gold in the Palace, and dedicating to his Memory another of Ivory on Horſe-back, which is ſtill born along in the ſolemn Pomps of the Cirque.

3. The extraordinary Accompliſhments both of his Body and Mind ſoon forc'd the notice and admiration of all Men, even while he was a Boy, which improv'd ſtill as he advanc'd in age. Theſe Accompliſhments were, a ſweet Aſpect, the Beauty whereof yet was manly and full of Majeſty, a ſtrong Body, though he was not very tall, and his Belly was pretty big; a ſingular Memory, and a Wit capable of all the Arts either of Peace or War. He underſtood a Weapon well, and was an excellent Horſeman: He was ready not only at the *Latin*, but *Greek* Tongues; a good Poet and Orator even *extempore*. Nor was he a ſtranger to Muſick, being able to ſing agreeably and with Skill. I have heard from ſeveral, that he was very ingenious at Short-hand, and that he would often

in

in jeſt vie with his Secretaries in the imitation of Hand-writings, at which he was ſo exact, that himſelf would ſay, *He could be a notable forger of Mens Hands.*

4. He ſuſtain'd the Character of Tribune of the Militia both in *Germany* and *Britain* with wondrous applauſe, as well for his Modeſty as his Induſtry, as appears from the many Images and Statues erected, and the Inſcriptions ſet up in both thoſe Provinces to his Honour. When the War was over, he applied himſelf to the Bar, where he practis'd with reputation for his ability and integrity, but he was not very diligent at it. At which time he took to Wife *Arricidia Tertulla*, Daughter to one who was indeed but a *Roman* Knight, but who had been Prefect of the *Pretorian* Cohorts. She being dead, he married *Marcia Furnilla* of a very Noble Family, by whom having had a Daughter, he divorc'd her. Having paſs'd the Honourable Office of *Quæſtor*, he had the command of a Legion given him, with which he reduc'd *Tarichæa* and *Gamala*, two conſiderable Cities of *Judæa*; where in one encounter having his Horſe kill'd under him, he ſtreight mounted another whoſe Rider he ſlew.

5. *Galba* ſoon after ſucceeding to the Empire, he was ſent by his Father to congratulate him; and all the way he went he was entertain'd as if he had gone to the Emperor to be adopted. But when he found the publick affairs all again thrown into diſorder, he turn'd back again, and going to conſult the Oracle of *Venus* at *Paphos*, concerning the ſucceſs of his Voyage, he was ſtill confirm'd in his hopes of being once Emperor. And it was not long before it lay in

his power to make himſelf ſo; for being left to perfect the conqueſt of *Judæa*, at the laſt aſſault made upon the City of *Jeruſalem*, himſelf having kill'd Twelve of the Defendants with ſo many Shafts, he took the City upon his Daughters Birth-day, with ſo much rejoycing and applauſe from the Soldiery, that in their Acclamations they ſaluted him by the name of *Emperor*; and when he was about to depart the Province and leave them, they detain'd him by earneſt requeſts and not without menaces, *That if he did not ſtay, he muſt take them along with him.* Hence aroſe a Jealouſie, that he deſign'd to revolt from his Father, and ſet up an Empire for himſelf in the Eaſt. Which Jealouſie was ſtill increaſed, when viſiting *Alexandria*, he put on a Diadem while he aſſiſted at the Ceremonies of the God *Apis*, in which though he acted only according to the conſtant cuſtom and obſerved Rites, yet there were not thoſe wanting, who interpreted it to a wrong Senſe. Wherefore haſtening towards *Italy*, and having reach'd firſt *Rhegium*, and then *Puteoli* in a Merchants Ship, he makes with all expedition for *Rome*, where arriving altogether unexpected to his Father, he cries out to him, *I am come, Father, I am come*, as it were reflecting upon thoſe raſh falſhoods which had been ſpread abroad concerning him.

6. After this he always acted as a ſharer in the Empire and as Protector of it. He triumph'd together with his Father, and was his Partner in the Office of Cenſor. He was alſo his Colleague in the Tribuneſhip and in ſeven Conſulates. He took to himſelf the ordering of almoſt all Offices, uſing his Fathers name both in private

private Letters and in publick Edicts, and making Speeches in the Senate as *Quæſtor*: He alſo took upon him the dignity of *Præfectus Prætorii*, or Great Maſter of the Imperial Houſhold, never before enjoy'd by any but a *Roman* Knight. And theſe Offices he manag'd tyrannically and with much cruelty; for whenever he met with one he ſuſpected, he ſuborn'd Men either in the Camp or Theatre to accuſe him and demand him to be puniſh'd, and then without more ado he would deliver him up to the Executioner. Among ſuch as theſe was *A. Cæcina*, one of Conſular dignity, whom he invited to Supper, and yet, e're he was well got out of the Room, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated; the danger of the caſe almoſt requiring it, he having taken a Writing under his own hand containing a form'd Conſpiracy of the Soldiery. This method of Adminiſtration, though 'tis true, might ſeem juſtifiable in contemplation of future Security, yet did it at that time contract ſo much hatred to him, that one would wonder any Man under ſo ill a name and ſo univerſal a diſlike ſhould ever arrive at the Empire.

7. Beſides this Cruelty of his, he was alſo obnoxious for his Luxury; for he would ſit up till midnight revelling with the lewdeſt of his Companions. Nor was his Lechery leſs to be conſider'd, which was render'd notorious by his Gangs of Catamites and Eunuchs, and the exceſſive Love he bore to the Queen *Berenice*, to whom, 'twas ſaid, he promiſed Marriage. His Extortion too was not unknown; it being certain that in the management of his Fathers Affairs he would frequently take Bribes and ſell Ju-

ſtice. Upon the whole he was generally eſteem'd and talk'd of as another *Nero*. But this ill report of him turn'd to his advantage, and chang'd afterwards into the higheſt praiſe; when he was found to be guilty of no Vice, but on the contrary endow'd with the moſt excellent and nobleſt Virtues. The Feaſts he made were pleaſant, not ſumptuous. He choſe ſuch for his Friends, as even the Princes who ſucceeded him relied upon and made chief uſe of, for their great abilities in the Service of themſelves and the Common-wealth. He immediately diſmiſs'd *Berenice* from *Rome*, much againſt her will. The fineſt of his Catamites he diſcharg'd, and though ſome of them were ſo graceful dancers, that they held the higheſt degree in the Theatre, yet he not only denied to harbour them any longer, but would not ſo much as be one among the publick Spectators of them. He took nothing that was another Mans, and abſtain'd from Rapine as much as any Prince ever did; nay, he even refuſed to accept the allowable and uſual Preſents; and yet he came behind none of his Predeceſſors for Munificence. Having dedicated his Amphitheatre, and with great ſpeed built the Baths hard by it, he preſented the People with moſt ſplendid and ſumptuous Games. He gave them beſide the Show of a Sea-fight in the old * *Naumachy*; where alſo he exhibited Gladiators, and in one day 5000 wild Beaſts of ſeveral ſorts.

* *A* Cirque *which by letting in waters, was made a Lake ſo large and deep as to admit Ships mann'd with Slaves, who to pleaſe the Spectators were to act a Sea-fight, wherein many Men were wont to be loſt. See before in the Life of* Claudius, §. 21.

8. He

8. He was naturally a Perſon of great goodneſs, one inſtance of which was, that whereas all former Emperors following the Example of *Tiberius*, look'd upon all the Privileges given and Grants made by their Predeceſſors to be void, except themſelves alſo confirm'd the ſame, he was the firſt who ratified all ſuch at once by a ſingle Edict, not giving his Subjects ſo much as the trouble of petitioning. Whatſoever requeſt was made to him by any Man, it was his conſtant practice not to ſend the Suitor away without hopes. And when ſome of his Courtiers admoniſh'd him, *That he promiſed more than he could perform: It is not meet*, ſays he, *that any man ſhould depart ſad from the Speech of his Prince.* Once being at Supper, and recollecting with himſelf, that all that day he had done no kindneſs to any Man, he uttered that memorable and ever to be commended ſaying, *Ah, my Friends, I have loſt a day.* He treated the People in general on all occaſions with ſo great courteſie, that when he was about to exhibit a Shew of Fencers, he profeſſed he *deſired not that it ſhould be order'd according to his own fanſie, but as the People pleaſed*; and ſo it was done, for he denied nothing to thoſe who deſired ought, nay he preſs'd Men to ask what they would. In the Amphitheatre he ſhew'd himſelf a favourer of the * *Thracian* way of fighting, and

* *It was the Cuſtom for the Spectators of the Publick Games to divide into Parties, and as the Combatants were differently habited and arm'd, they divided their favours; among whom thoſe who were for the* Thracian *mode (as was* Titus*) were call'd* Palmularii, *from* [Parma] *the Shield they were wont to uſe, and the other Factions had names accordingly. Thus the whoops and hollows of our wreſtling Rings are beſtow'd with much concern by thoſe who eſpouſe the ſide of* North *and* Weſt, *without an exact regard to the ſituation of their native Place.*

as ſuch he would behave himſelf both with his voice and geſture, and wrangle with the People for that ſide; preſerving yet the decorum of Majeſty and the Rules of * Juſtice. That he might neglect no opportunity of taking with the Populace, he would now and then admit even mean People into his Baths at the ſame time that he was waſhing himſelf. Some ſtrange and ſad Accidents happened in his time, as the Eruption of the Mountain *Veſuvius* in *Campania*; and a diſmal Fire at *Rome*, which laſted three days and as many nights; beſides a Peſtilence the like to which was hardly ever known. Amidſt ſo many and ſo great Calamities he acted the part not only of a careful Prince, but demonſtrated the paſſionate affection of a Parent of his Country, ſometimes affording all the neceſſary help he could by wholſom Laws and Ordinances, ſometimes aſſiſting the diſtreſſed with what he could ſpare out of his own Treaſury. Out of the number of Men of Conſular dignity he choſe by lot ſome to take care of the Relief of *Campania*; ordering the Goods of thoſe who had been kill'd near *Veſuvius* (and who had left no Heirs) to be applied to the ſuccour of the ſeveral ſuffering Towns. By the burning of the City he profeſs'd himſelf to be the only loſer; ſo that he gave all the Ornaments of his Palaces to the reſtoring of the Temples and publick Stuctures, and commiſſion'd ſeveral of the *Equeſtrian Order*, to overſee and haſten the Works. In order to abate the Peſtilence and mitigate the then raging Diſtempers, he neglected not the application of any means divine or humane, carrying his inquiry through all the modes of Sacrificing, and all manner of Remedies. Among the other

* *In aſſigning the Prize, &c. to the Perſon who won it.*

ther Miſchiefs of the Times the Suborners and Informers were by an inveterate Licentiouſneſs become none of the leaſt. Some of theſe he every day cauſed firſt to be well whipt and drub'd in the Market-place, then to be drag'd croſs the Amphitheatre, and after all he either expoſed them by way of Auction to the higheſt bidder, and ſo ſold them for Slaves, or elſe he baniſh'd them to ſome craggy and barren Iſland. And to prevent the like bold Enormities for ever after, he among other things forbad that any one Cauſe ſhould be tried by more than one Law; and enacted that after ſuch a ſtated term of years after a Mans deceaſe, no farther Suits ſhould be brought by way of enquiry into his Eſtate.

9. He took upon him the Dignity of Chief Pontiff, with this proteſtation that he did ſo, that the conſideration of his Holy Office might oblige him to keep his hands clean from Blood; and he was as good as his word, not being after that either Actor in or Acceſſary to the death of any Man, though he had ſometimes occaſions enow offer'd to ſtir him up to Revenge; but he would ſwear he had rather periſh himſelf than deſtroy another. When two Noblemen of *Rome* were convicted of Treaſon in aſpiring to the Empire, he only adviſed them to lay aſide their deſign, for that he ſaid, *The Empire was in the gift of none but Providence*; if they deſired any thing elſe he promiſed to beſtow it upon them: and immediately diſpatch'd Meſſengers to the Mother of one of them, who lived far from *Rome*, and who was in great anxiety for him, to comfort her with the news that her Son was not in danger. Then he took them kindly to

ſup with him, and the next day having on purpoſe plac'd them near him at the ſight of a Sword-Play, he handed to them the Weapons of the Combatants which were offer'd to him, that they might look upon them and examin them: But having calculated both their Nativities, he ſaid, Some great Miſchief would happen to them, though at another time, and from another hand; and ſo it fell out afterwards. His Brother, who inceſſantly conſpired againſt him, and almoſt avowedly endeavour'd to debauch the Soldiery from their Loyalty, contriving to make his eſcape by flight, he not only would not put him to death, nor ſend him away, nor diminiſh any of the honour he enjoy'd; but continu'd from the firſt day of his Reign, to call him his Partner and Succeſſor; ſometimes in private, beſeeching him with earneſt Intreaties, and even Tears, that once at laſt he would requite him with the ſame mutual Affection. This being the State of his Affairs, he was ſnatch'd away by death, more to the loſs of Mankind than of himſelf. Having finiſh'd the Games he preſented, at the concluſion of which he wept abundantly before all the People; he retir'd into the Country of the *Sabines* ſomewhat melancholy, occaſion'd by the inauſpicious flight of his Victim out of the hand of the Sacrificer, and an unuſual Thunder heard when the Sky was clear. At his firſt baiting he was taken ill with a Fever, and keeping on his Journey in a Litter, he is ſaid to have put back the Curtains and to have look'd up toward Heaven bitterly complaining, *That his Life was wrongfully taken from him; for he had been guilty of no Action of which he need repent, excepting one only:* Which

Which what it was he neither then declar'd himſelf, nor could it be eaſily gueſs'd by any one elſe. Some are of opinion, that he call'd to mind the familiarity which had been betwixt himſelf and his Brothers Wife: But *Domitia* ſwore poſitively, there was no ſuch thing; and ſhe would not have denied it if it had been true, but rather have gloried in it, which it was uſual for her to do of any kind of Lewdneſs.

10. He died in the ſame Houſe where his Father did, *September* 13. after he had reigned two years, two months and twenty days, in the Forty firſt year of his age. As ſoon as his death was publiſh'd, it occaſion'd an univerſal Mourning, as if every private Man had receiv'd a domeſtick loſs; the Senators without expecting a formal Summons ran to the Senate-houſe, where firſt keeping the Doors faſt ſhut, and then throwing them open, they order'd ſuch Praiſes to be given him, and ſuch Honours to be heap'd upon him, as never had been done while he was alive and when he was preſent.

THE

TITUS·FLAVIUS·DOMITIANUS.

THE LIFE OF TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

Done into *Engliſh* by *N. S.* Gent.

Domitian was born the Ninth of the Calends of *November*, or the *4th.* of *October*, at what time his Father was Conſul Elect (as being to enter upon that high Dignity the next Month) in the ſixth Region of the City, in the *Pomegranet* Street, aud in the Houſe, which afterwards he converted into a Temple in Honour of the *Flavian* Family. He is reported to have ſpent his Youth, and the firſt years of his Adoleſcency in ſo much want and Infamy, that he had not ſo much as one piece of Plate to ſhew in his Houſe. And this is certain that *Claudius Pollio*, of Prætorian Quality, againſt whom *Nero* wrote a *Satyr*, which he entitl'd *Luſcio*, kept a Note which he had under *Domitian*'s Hand, and upon occaſion produc'd it, wherein the young Man had promis'd him a Nights lodging at any time. And ſome there were who affirm'd, that he

he proſtituted his Body to *Nerva* who ſucceeded him. During the *Vitellian* War he fled into the Capitol with his Uncle *Sabinus*, and part of the Forces which they had about them. But the Enemy breaking in by force, and the Temple being on fire, he conceal'd himſelf that night with the Sexton; and the next Morning being diſguis'd in the habit of one of the Prieſts of *Iſis*, among the jugling Impoſtors that attend upon that vain Superſtition, he conveigh'd himſelf with only one Companion to a Houſe where the Mother of one of his School-fellows liv'd, and there hid himſelf ſo cloſe, that tho' they who purſu'd him trac'd him by his very Foot-ſteps, they could not find him. But after the Victory he again appear'd, and being ſaluted with the Title of CÆSAR, he took upon him the Honour of City Prætor with Conſular Power, though titular only; for he transferr'd his Juriſdiction to his next Collegue. Nevertheleſs he made uſe of that Authority which he had, with ſo much licentiouſneſs and violence, that then he plainly diſcover'd what he would be hereafter. Not to make a particular relation of his Miſdemeanors, after he had made a familiar tryal of the Wives of ſeveral Perſons, at length he pitch'd upon *Domitia Longina*, then marry'd to *Ælius Lamia*, and took her to his Bed, after he had taken her away by force from her Husband; and in one day he diſpos'd of a above Twenty Offices in the City and Provinces; *Veſpaſian* at the ſame time being often heard to ſay, that he wonder'd, *He did not ſend him a Succeſſor among the reſt.*

2. He alſo undertook two Expeditions, one into *Gallia*, and another into both *Germanies*; neither of

of them neceſſary; and though diſſwaded from the by all his Father Friends; only that he might equal his Brothers in Fame and great Atchievements. For theſe things being ſeverely reprov'd, to the end he might be the more eaſily recall'd to the conſideration of his age and former Condition, he was lodg'd alone in his Fathers Houſe. And as often as they went abroad, he follow'd both his Father's and his Brother's Chair in a Litter; and accompany'd them mounted upon a white Horſe when they triumph'd over the Jews. Of ſix Conſulſhips he bore but one that might be call'd an * ordinary Conſulſhip, and that by the ſuffrage and reſignment of his Brother. He pretended wonderfully to Modeſty, and highly affected Poetry, and recited his Verſes in publick: A ſtudy to which as he was unaccuſtom'd before, ſo was it afterwards as much rejected and diſpis'd by him. But for all that, when *Vologeſus*, the King of the *Parthians*, demanded Succours againſt the *Alani*, and one of *Veſpaſian*'s Sons to be their Leader, he labour'd with all the induſtry imaginable that he might be ſent. And finding that War compos'd, he ſollicited with great Gifts and Promiſes other Kings of the *Eaſt*, to deſire the ſame favours. After the death of his Father, heſitating a long time, whether he ſhould give a double Donative to his Soldiers, he never ſcrupl'd at length to declare by way of Proteſt, *That he was left a Partner in the Empire, but that there was a fraud put upon his Fathers Will.* Nor did he after that forbear either open or clandeſtin Contrivances to deſtroy his Brother; till at length ſeeing him ſo ſick that he could not eſcape, he commanded all his Attendants to leave him, before

* *That is to ſay, he enter'd upon the Conſulſhip at the beginning of the year and held it. Which was eſteem'd the greateſt Honour; for that the year in the time of the Emperors was divided into ſeveral Conſulſhips.*

fore he was dead: and after his deceaſe, not vouchſafing him any other then the Honour of Conſecration, he would often revile his Memory both in reflective Orations, and reproachful Edicts.

3. At the beginning of his Reign, he had a cuſtom of keeping one hour every day private to himſelf; and then all his Employment was to catch flyes, and ſtick them through the Bodies with a ſharp Bodkin. So that it was wittily anſwer'd by *Vibius Criſpus*; who to one that ask'd him, *If there was any Body with the Emperor in his Cloſet*, reply'd, *No, not ſo much as a Fly*. After this, though in his ſecond Conſulſhip he had had a Son by his Wife *Domitia*, and the next year had ſaluted her with the Title of *Auguſta*, yet he divorc'd her, as one that was paſſionately in love with one *Paris* a Stage-player: but in a ſhort time after, impatient of the ſeparation, he took her home again, pretending the importunate deſire of the People for his ſo doing. In the Adminiſtration of the Empire he was at firſt very uncertain for ſome time; yet with an equal mixture of Vice and Virtue, till his Vices prevail'd above his Virtues; as far as we may conjecture, contrary to his natural Diſpoſition, Rapacious for want, and Cruel out of fear.

4. The Spectacles and Shews which he exhibited were Magnificent and frequent, not only in the Amphitheatre, but alſo in the *Circus*. Where beſides the ſolemn Races of Chariots with two and four Wheels, he preſented the People with two Land-fights; the one between Infantry and Infantry; the other between Cavalry and Cavalry, as alſo with one Sea-engagement in the Amphitheatre. For his Chaces and

and Gladiatory Combats he ſhew'd in the night time by Torch-light; and not only Male Conteſts, but Female Bickerings alſo. Likewiſe at the Queſtors Shews (which being diſcontinu'd for ſome time, he reviv'd again) he was ſo ſeduloufly preſent, that he gave the People leave to demand two couple of his Gladiators out of his own number, which were always brought in laſt of all in the Court Liveries. And at all times that he was preſent at any of theſe Gladiators Combats, there ſtood a Dwarf at his Feet, clad in Scarlet, with a ſmall Head, ſmall even to a Miracle, to whom he talk'd very often, and ſometimes about ſerious buſineſs. Inſomuch that one time he was over-heard to ask his Advice, *Whether he knew the reaſon why he intended to make* Metius Rufus *Governour of Ægypt, the next Promotion, and what he thought of his deſign.* He repreſented his Sea-fights with ſuch a number of Veſſels as neer amounted to a formal Navy, having for that purpoſe made a vaſt Lake neer the River *Tiber*, and built up Scaffolds round about it, where he would ſit to behold the end of the Fight, though it rain'd never ſo faſt. He was alſo at the charges of ſecular Plays, computing the time not from the year that *Claudius* laſt expos'd them, but from the year that *Auguſtus* firſt renew'd them. And among the reſt, on the day of the *Circenſian* Games, to the end the hunder'd Races might be the more eaſily perform'd, he contracted every Race from ſeven to five Spaces, or Stages. He alſo Inſtituted in Honour of *Jupiter Capitoline*, a Threefold Tryal of Skill, every five years, for Muſick, Horſe-racing, and Wreſtling; and Crowns in a greater number than at this

day. Besides these, he had his Contests and Disputations in *Greek* and *Latin* Prose. And besides his usual Harpers, he had his Lutinists that play'd in Parts, and his Theorbonists that play'd to Treble Voices: and his Virgins that run Races in the *Stadium*, or Foot-Race. He presided at the Solemnities in his Pantofles, clad in a short Purple *German* Cloak, with a Crown upon his Head, adorn'd with the Images of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the Priests of *Jupiter*, and the College of the *Flavial* Priests sitting by him in the same Habit; only that his own Image was added to their Coronets. He also solemniz'd every year Feasts call'd the *Quinquatria* dedicated to *Minerva*, to whom he also Consecrated a College, out of which they who were drawn by Lot to officiate as Governours and Chief Officers, were oblig'd to gratifie the multitude with Chaces and Stage-plays, as also with Contests and Tryals of Art betwen Orators and Poets. Thrice he gave a Largess to the People of Three hunder'd Pieces of Money; and during the Gladiatory Shew a most plentiful Feast. Upon the Festival of the *Seven Hills*, after he had presented the Senators and Gentlemen more capacious Paniers, he caus'd little Baskets of Meat to be distributed among the Multitude, and was the first that fell too to encourage the rest; and the next day he threw about great numbers of Toys of all sorts; and because the greatest part fell among the People, he commanded Fifty Tickets to be given to the several Benches of the *Equestrian* and *Senatorian Order*.

5. Many noble Fabricks that had been consum'd by Fire he repair'd at his own Charges, and

and among the reſt the Capitol, which had been a third time fir'd at the death of *Veſpaſian*: But all in his own name, not ſuffering any mention to be made of the Primitive Founder. He alſo erected a new Chappel in the Capitol to *Guardian Jupiter*, and a Hall of Juſtice which now bears the Name of *Nerva*. He alſo built a Temple to the *Flavian* Family, made a new *Stadium* for Foot-races, a Muſick Room, and a place for Sea-fights. The Stones of which were afterwards made uſe of to repair the bigger *Circus*; two ſides of which had been terribly ruin'd by a publick Conflagration.

6. His Warlike Expeditions he undertook partly of his own accord, partly upon compulſion. Of his own accord, againſt the *Catti*; by compulſion, againſt the *Sarmatians*, who had cut off a whole Legion, together with the Legate. Two againſt the *Daci*; the firſt upon the overthrow of *Appius Sabinus*, a Perſon of Conſular Dignity; the ſecond, after the ſlaughter of *Cornelius Fuſcus*, Colonel of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, to whom he had committed the Conduct of War. Over the *Catti* and the *Daci*, after ſeveral Battels with various Fortune, he triumph'd twice; but for his Conqueſt of the *Sarmatians*, he had only the Honour to offer a Laurel Wreath to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. As for the Civil War which was begun by *L. Antonius*, Preſident of the upper *Germany*, he made a ſpeedy end of it, by wonderful good Fortune, and in his abſence. For that as his Forces were ready to give Battel to *Antonius*, the *Rhine* overflowing of a ſudden, ſtopp'd the *Barbarian* Forces from croſſing over to his Aſſiſtance. Of

which Victory he had the first intelligence by Presages, before the Messengers arriv'd. For that the same day the Battel was fought, a lovely Eagle having expanded her Wings over his Statue at *Rome*, sent forth continu'd cryes of Joy for a good while together; and soon after the report was so rife, that *Antonius* was slain, that many People affirm'd they saw his Head brought to the City.

7. Many things he alter'd also in the Customs common at that time. For he took away the publick Baskets, and reduc'd them to the old Custom of Noble Suppers. To the four Ancient Parties in the *Circensian* Games he added two more, and gave them Gold and Purple Liveries. He forbid the Comœdians to Act upon the Stage, but allow'd them liberty to exercise their Faculty in private Houses. He forbid the gelding of Male Children. But as for those Children that were gelt already, and in the Hands of the Slave-sellers, he brought down the price of them. Observing also a great plenty of Wine, but a great scarcity of Corn, and concluding thence that Tillage was neglected, because the People made more of their Vineyards; He order'd all over *Italy*, that no Man should plant new Vinyards; and that in the Provinces the Vinyards should be cut down, or at most but a Moity left standing; but he quickly grew weary of the Execution of this Decree. Some of the greatest Offices he shar'd between his enfranchiz'd Bond-men and the Gentlemen of *Rome*. He forbad the Legions to double their Camp; nor would he suffer any Soldier to depositt above a Thousand Sesterces under the custody of his Colours. In regard

gard that *Lucius Antonius* deſigning a Revolt in the Winter Quarters of two Legions, ſeem'd to have grounded his Confidence upon the Sums in that manner depoſited. He alſo encreas'd the Soldiers Pay of three Crowns in Gold, to four Crowns in Gold, a Month.

8. In the Adminiſtration of Juſtice he was very diligent and induſtrious. And for the moſt part cancell'd the partial Sentences of the *Centumvirs*, ſitting himſelf extrajudicially in Court before the Tribunal; and often admoniſh'd the *Recoverers*, that they ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be over-rul'd by the perfunctory Aſſertions of Men that ſu'd for their Freedoms, againſt the Right of their Maſters. He alſo branded with Ignominy ſuch Judges, with their Aſſiſtants, as ſuffer'd themſelves to be corrupted by Bribery. To which purpoſe he encourag'd the Tribunes of the People to accuſe a ſordid *Edile* of Extortion, and to demand Judges out of the Senate to ſit upon him. And he took ſuch care to reſtrain the Violences of the City Magiſtrates, and Governours of Provinces, that they were never more Modeſt, or Juſter then during his Reign; though after his death, we have ſeen moſt of them Guilty, and Convicted of all manner of Enormities. Having taken upon him the correction and regulation of Manners, he reform'd the liberty of ſitting promiſcuouſly with the Gentry upon the Stage; and ſuppreſs'd all manner of Libels and Paſquils, tending to the defamation of Perſons of Quality, whether Men or Women, not without diſgrace and ignominy to the Authors. He put a Perſon that had been *Quæſtor* or Treaſurer out of the Senate, becauſe he was too much addict-

ed to Mimicry and Dancing. To Women of ill Fame he deny'd the uſe of Litters, and the Privilege of enjoying Legacies and Inheritances. He ſtrook a *Roman* Knight out of the Liſt of the Judges, for receiving his Wife again, after he had divorc'd her for Adultery. He alſo puniſh'd ſeveral of both Orders by the * *Statinian* Law. The Inceſts of the Veſtal Virgins, not taken notice of either by his Father or his Brother, he reſtrain'd by various and ſevere Puniſhments. For the firſt Offence he order'd Capital Puniſhment; for the ſecond, he condemn'd them to ſuffer according to the ancient Cuſtom. For having given free liberty to the Siſters of *Ocellas*, and to *Veronilla* likewiſe to make choice of what death they would dye, and having baniſh'd their Debauchers; ſoon after he commanded *Cornelia*, the chief of all the Veſtals formerly pardon'd, but a long time afterwards accus'd and convicted for the ſame Offence again, to be buried alive; and the Perſons that had defil'd her to be whipp'd to death in the publick Place for the Election of Magiſtrates. One Perſon only, who had been Prætor, in regard the Evidence was dubious, and for that they had forc'd him by Racks and Tortures to accuſe himſelf, he ſent into Baniſhment. And that no Man might violate, unpuniſh'd, the worſhip of the Gods, he caus'd his Soldiers to pull down a Monument which one of his enfranchis'd Bond-men had built for his Son, of the Stones deſign'd for the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and order'd the Bones and Relicks which were in it, to be caſt into the Sea.

* *So call'd because it was made to puniſh the Tribune* Scatinius, *for vitiating the Son of* Marcellus. *This Law therefore puniſh'd Male unchaſtity, by laying a heavy Fine upon the Offender.*

9. At the beginning of his Reign he abhorr'd all manner of Cruelty and Blood-ſhed to

that

that degree, that remembring the Verſe in *Virgil*,

Impia quam Cæſis gens eſt epulata juvencis.

Before the wicked People firſt began
To banquet on the Blood of Heifers ſlain.

He had deſign'd to publiſh an Edict, *That no Oxen ſhould be ſacrific'd.* While he was a private Perſon, and for ſome time while he was a Prince, he did not give the leaſt ſuſpition of Parſimony or Covetouſneſs; but rather on the contrary, he diſcover'd ampler Teſtimonies of his Liberality than of any Gripple Humour. And as he was extreamly bountiful to all that were about him, ſo there was nothing that he inculcated more frequently or with greater fervency into their minds, than to avoid penurious and ſordid Baſeneſs. And therefore he never would accept of Inheritances that were left him by ſuch as had Children. He likewiſe made void the Will of *Roſcius Cæpio*, wherein he had provided, *That his Heir ſhould once a year diſtribute a certain Sum of Money to the Senators as they enter'd the Senate.* Such as had been proſecuted in his Exchequer for the laſt five years, and had their Cauſes ſtill depending, he abſolutely diſcharg'd from any farther trouble; nor would he ſuffer any new Proſecution, till after the year was out, and upon this Condition, that if the Proſecutor fail'd to make out his Accuſation, he ſhould be baniſh'd. For what was paſt, he alſo pardon'd the Quæſtors Clerks and Notaries, for trading contrary to the *Clodian* Law. The ſeparate Lands, which remain'd

ſiere and there after the Diviſions made among the *Veterane* Soldiers, he reſtor'd to the ancient Owners, as claim'd by Preſcription. Falſe Accuſations in his Chequer he ſuppreſs'd, not without ſevere Puniſhment of the Informers. Upon which this ſaying of his goes currant abroad, THAT PRINCE WHO DOES NOT PUNISH INFORMERS, PROVOKES THEM TO INFORM.

10. But long he did not perſiſt in this ſame Courſe either of Clemency or Moderation; and yet he deviated ſomewhat ſooner to Cruelty than to Avarice. He put to death a Scholar of *Paris* the *Pantomimick*, at that time not above thirteen years of Age, and lying ſick, becauſe he reſembl'd his Maſter both in Features and Action. *Hermogenes* of *Tarſus* had the ſame fate, for certain figurative Speeches in his Hiſtory, which he look'd upon as Reflections upon himſelf; and beſides that, he caus'd the *Amanuenſis* that tranſcrib'd it to be Crucifi'd. A certain Maſter of a Family, for only ſaying, *That the* Thracian *Gladiator would be hard enough for the* Mirmillonian, *but not for the Maſter of the Shew*, he caus'd to be pull'd down from his Seat, and thrown upon the Stage to the Dogs with this Inſcription, The * PARMULARIAN FOR IMPIOUS WORDS. He put to death ſeveral Senators, of which number ſome there were who had been Conſuls. Among the reſt *Civicus Cerealis* in his very Proconſulſhip of *Aſia*; and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, and *Acilius Glabrio* in the places of their Exilement, as Conſpirators againſt his Life and Government; the reſt upon very ſlight and frivolous pretences. *Ælius Lamia* particularly for certain

* *Or Taker of the* Thracian's *part.*

tain ſuſpitious Jeaſts, which nevertheleſs were both old and innocent; but chiefly, for that after *Domitian* had taken his Wife away from him, and yet at another time commended his Voice, he made only this reply, * *Heu taceo*, Alas, I hold my Tongue. And becauſe that at another time, when *Titus* encourag'd *Elius* to marry again, he made the Prince this Anſwer,

Μὴ καὶ σὺ γαμῆσαι θέλεις;

† *Haſt thou a mind to marry too?*

* *Not much unlike the* French *Proverb* Tel chante, chi n'a joye. *He ſings that has no cauſe to ſing; intimating that tho' he ſung he ſaid nothing of the main grief that lay at his heart.*

† *That is to ſay, Haſt thou a mind to take away my Wife as* Domitian *did?*

Salvius Cæcianus he put to death, becauſe he ſolemniz'd the Birth day of his Uncle *Otho* the Emperor; *Metius Pomponianus*, becauſe he was commonly reported to be born under an Imperial Conſtellation, and becauſe he carry'd about him a Map of the World drawn in Parchment, together with the Speeches of ſeveral Kings and Captains taken out of *Livy*; and becauſe he gave his Servants the Names of *Mago* and *Hannibal*: *Saluſtius Lucullus* his Leiutenant Ceneral in *Britain*, becauſe he order'd certain Lances of a new Invention and form to be call'd *Lucullea*'s, after his own Name. *Junius Ruſticus*, becauſe he had publiſh'd the Praiſes of *Pætus Thracea* and *Helvidius Priſcus*, and had given them the Title of *Moſt Holy Men*. Upon occaſion of which offence he baniſh'd all the Philoſophers out of the City and all *Italy*. *Helvidius* the Son he alſo put to death becauſe that in a Prologue to a Comedy, under the Perſons of *Paris* and *Oenone*, he had reflected upon the Divorce of his Wife: *Flavius Sabinus*,

Sabinus, one of his Uncles Sons, becauſe that being deſign'd Conſul upon the day of Conſular Elections, the Cryer inſtead of Proclaiming him *Conſul*, to the People, pronounc'd him *Emperor*. But ſometime after his Victory in the Civil War growing ſtill more Cruel, having diſcover'd the greateſt part of the contrary Faction by the Confeſſions of the Guilty, and making uſe of a new invented Rack, he tormented them by putting Fire to their Privy Parts, and cutting off the Hands of others. And certain it is, that he only pardon'd two that were of any Eminent Quality, the one a Tribune of *Senatorian Order*, and the other a Centurion; who that they might the more eaſily convince him of their Innocence, made it appear by Proof that they had proſtituted their Bodies, and therefore could have no Intereſt either with the Captain or with the Army.

11. Nor was his Cruelty only exceſſive and exorbitant, but cunning, unexpected and by ſurprize. Thus the day before he Crucifi'd one of his Caſh-keepers, he ſent for him into his Bed-chamber, compell'd him to ſit down upon the ſide of his Bed, diſmis'd him ſecure and chearful, and ſent him a Diſh of Meat from his Table at Supper. In like manner having a deſign to condemn *Aretinus Clemens*, who had been Conſul, and was one of his familiar Favorites and Emiſſaries, he ſhew'd him the ſame or greater favour than before, till at laſt, as he rode in the ſame Litter with him, eſpying his Accuſer, *Wilt thou*, ſaid he, *that we ſhall hear to morrow what this wicked Varlet can ſay?* And that he might abuſe the Patience of Men with more Contempt, he never pronounc'd any Mortal Sentence without a Preamble.

amble full of Clemency. So that there was no ſurer ſign of a fatal Ending, than a mild and gentle Beginning. He had brought ſome Perſons that were impeach'd of Treaſon into Court; and having given it out before, *That he would trye that day how dear he was to the Senate*, he eaſily obtain'd a Sentence that they ſhould be puniſh'd according to the manner of the Ancients; but then, as if he had been terrifi'd with the dreadfulneſs, and inhumanity of the Puniſhment, to throw off the Envy from himſelf, he interceded for the condemn'd Offenders in theſe words, *Permit me, Conſcript Fathers, I beſeech ye, to requeſt from your Pitty and Compaſſion, though I know I ſhall with difficulty obtain it, that you would indulge the Condemn'd ſo far, that they may have the free choice what death they will dye. For by ſo doing you will be * kind to your own Eyes, and all Men will underſtand that I was preſent in the Senate.*

* *Which will not then be terrifi'd with beholding ſuch a dreadful Spectacle.*

12. Having exhauſted his Treaſury by his extravagant Buildings, and his Exhibitions of publick Shews, and his advancement of the Soldiers Pay; for the eaſe of his Military Expences he attempted to reduce the number of his Soldiers. But conſidering that ſuch a reducement would but lay him open to the Invaſions of the *Barbarians*, and that nevertheleſs, he ſhould not be able to cope with all the Neceſſities of the Empire, he abandon'd himſelf to all manner of Spoile and Rapine. The Goods and Eſtates of the Living and the Dead were rak'd together without any Conſideration who was the Accuſer, or what was the Crime. It was enough to object that any thing was ſaid or done againſt the Majeſty of the Prince. Inheritances

heritances the moſt remote were confiſcated, were there but any one that would come in and ſay, that he had heard the Party deceas'd in his Life time declare, *That* Cæſar *ſhould be his Heir.* Among the reſt, the Tribute of the Jews was exacted moſt ſeverely; not only from ſuch as being Jews profeſs'd, paid for the exerciſe of their Religion in the City, but alſo from thoſe who concealing their Original, had avoided the Impoſitions. And I remember, when I was but a Youth that I was preſent my ſelf, at what time an old Man was ſearch'd, in a full Aſſembly of People, whether he were Circumcis'd or no.

13. From his Youth uncivil and diſobliging; yet full of Confidence and Preſumption, and immoderate in his Words and Actions. When *Cænis*, his Father's Concubine, return'd out of *Iſtria*, and offer'd him her Lip, as ſhe was wont to do, he gave her his Hand. Being offended that his Brothers Son-in-Law had his Servants in white Coats to attend him at Table after the Imperial manner, he cry'd out

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη.

In one place more Kings than one
Is a miſchief too well known.

Having obtain'd the Empire, he made his boaſts in the Senate, That he had given the Empire to his Father and his Brother, and that they had reſtor'd it to him again. Nor did he ſcruple, when he took his Wife home again after he had divorc'd her, to give it out, That he had re-call'd her to his Sacred * Pulvinar. And it pleas'd him to hear the Acclamations of the Theatre

* *So the Pallats were call'd upon which the Images of the Gods were laid.*

Theatre upon a Feasting day, *All happiness to our Lord and Lady.* Being present at the Trials of Skill instituted in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, when all the People unanimously besought him to restore *Palfurious Sura*, who had been put out of the Senate; but then the Person who had won the Prize from all the rest of the Orators, not vouchsafing them any answer, he commanded silence by the voice of the Cryer. With the same Arrogance when he was dictating a Letter of Course in the name of one of his Procurators he began thus, *Dominus ac Deus noster sic fieri jubet*, Our Lord and God commands it so to be done. Whence it was afterwards ordain'd, that he should be call'd no otherwise either in words or in writing. He would not permit any Statues to be plac'd for him in the Capitol, unless they were of Gold or Silver and of a certain weight. He erected so many Gates and so many Triumphal Arches in all the Quarters of the City, adorn'd with Chariots and four Horses, and all the Ensigns of Triumph, that upon one of them there was written in *Greek*, * ΑΡΚΕΙ. He undertook the Consulship seventeen times; which was more than ever any one did before him. Of which the seven in the middle he executed successively; all the rest only titularly; none beyond the Calends of *May*, several no longer than the Ides of *January*. After two Triumphs, having assum'd the Name of *Germanicus*, he order'd the Months of *September* and *October*, to be call'd *Germanicus* and *Domitian* after his own names, because that in the one he succeeded to the Empire, in the other he was born.

* It is sufficient; *but the Jest lyes in* Arkei, *and* Arcus.

14. By

14. By means of these Inhumanities being become odious and dreadful to all men, he fell at length under the Conspiracies of his most intimate Friends and Bond-men, with whom his Wife was also engag'd. He had a long time before a deep Apprehension of the last year and day of his Life, nay of the very Hour and Manner of his death. For the *Chaldeans* had foretold him all these things when he was a Youth. His Father also one time observing that at Supper he would eat no Mushromes, laught at him, as ignorant of his Destiny, for being so idle as to fear Champignons rather than the Sword. For which reason always fearful and anxious, the least suspitions mov'd him to Exorbitant determinations. So that he was thought to have suspended the Edict for cutting down the Vines, but only because certain Libels were scatter'd about with these Verses,

Κὴν μὲ φάγης ἐπὶ ῥίξαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω,
Ὅσσον ἐπισπεῖσαι καίσαρι θυομένω.

Though thou shouldst eat me to the Root,
Yet will I bear sufficient fruit,
To power upon the Victim's Head,
When Cæsar's *to the Altar led.*

The same fear made him refuse an Honour of a new Invention which the Senate had contriv'd and offer'd him; though otherwise no Man was more Covetous and Ambitious of those Vanities. For it was decreed, *That as oft as he took upon him the Office of the Consulship, the Gentlemen of* Rome, *as often as their Lots fell, should walk before him in their Purple Embroider'd*

Gowns

Gowns (*call'd* Trabeæ) *with their Military Lances in their Hands among the Serjeants and Catchpoles.* And the time of his ſuſpected danger drawing neer, waxing every day more ſollicitous than other, he caus'd the Walls of the Galleries to be lin'd with the Stone *Phengitis*, which repreſented the Images of things like a Mirrour; by the ſplendor of which he could ſee what was done behind him. Nor would he ſuffer any Criminal to be brought before him, but when he was private and all alone; nor would he hear their Pleas, but when he had their Chains in their hands. And that he might perſwade his Servants, that the Murder of a Patron was not to be attempted, how ſpecious ſoever the pretence might be; he condemn'd his Secretary *Epaphroditus* to be put to death, becauſe that after *Nero* was forſaken by all the World, he was ſaid to have aſſiſted him with his hand to cut his own Throat.

15. Laſtly, though *Flavius Clemens* was his Couſin German; though he had openly deſign'd his Sons, as then but very young, to ſucceed him in the Empire; and to that purpoſe after he had alter'd their own names, caus'd the one to be call'd *Veſpaſian* and the other *Domitian*; and though he knew the Father to be a Perſon of that egregious ſloth that he could do him no prejudice; yet of a ſudden, and before he was well out of his Conſulſhip upon the moſt groundleſs ſuſpicion imaginable, he order'd him to be put to death. The perpetration of which Murder haſten'd his Ruin. For eight Months together there happen'd ſuch continual Thunder and Lightning, that when they brought him the Relations of the Miſchiefs done

done in ſeveral Places, he cry'd out, *Feriat jam quem volet. Now let it ſtrike whom e're it pleaſes.* The Capitol was fir'd from Heaven, and the Temple of the *Flavian* Family; alſo the *Palatine* Palace and his own Bed Chamber. The Inſcription likewiſe being ſwept away from the Baſis of his Triumphal Statue by the violence of a ſtorm fell into the next Monument. The Tree, which when *Veſpaſian* was but a private Perſon, fell down, and ſtood up again in its place, now fell down a ſecond time. The Oracle of Fortune at *Preneſte*, that all along during the whole Courſe of his Reign ſtill wiſh'd him a happy New-year, and was always accuſtom'd to promiſe him good luck, foretold nothing but ſadneſs now, not without ſome intimations of a Maſſacre. He dreamt alſo that *Minerva*, whom he ador'd even to ſuperſtition, had withdrawn her ſelf from the Chappel which he had conſecrated to her; aſſuring him withal that ſhe could no longer protect him, becauſe *Jupiter* had diſarm'd her. But nothing appall'd him ſo much as the anſwer and diſaſter of *Aſcletario* the Mathematician: For he being accus'd, and not denying but that he had publiſh'd what he foreſaw by his Art, was ask'd by the Emperor what Deſtiny he thought attended himſelf? to which when he made anſwer, *That he ſhould be torn in peices by Dogs*, *Domitian* caus'd him to be put to death without delay; and to convince the World of the folly of his Prediction, order'd him to be bury'd with all the care imaginable. Which while they were doing according to his Commands, it happen'd that a ſudden Tempeſt roſe, which having thrown down the Funeral Pile,

Pile, the Dogs came and eat up the Carkaſs half burnt. And this was told him as he ſate at Supper by *Latinus* the Mimick, who having obſerv'd the Accident as he paſt by, brought it in among the reſt of the remarkable Paſſages of that day.

16. The day before he was kill'd, after he had commanded a Diſh of Muſhromes to be ſet up till the morrow, he added, *If it be permitted us to uſe them.* And then turning to thoſe that ſtood next him, he affirm'd, *That the next day the* * *Moon would beſmear her ſelf with blood in Aquarius.* And that ſomething would be perpetrated that would give the whole World an occaſion of diſcourſe. But about the middle of the night he was ſo terrifi'd, that he leapt out of his Bed. The next Morning he ſent for a Soothſayer, that was ſent out of *Germany*, who being conſulted to give his judgment concerning the Thunder and Lightning, foretold an alteration of Affairs; and therefore after he had heard him he condemn'd him to ‖ Death. After that, having ſcratch'd an exulcerated wart that grew upon his Forehead, and perceiving the Blood to trickle down, *And would this were all*, he cry'd. Then enquiring what a Clock it was, they told him *Six*, on purpoſe, inſtead of *Five*; which was the Hour he moſt dreaded. Upon which, being overjoy'd as if the danger had been paſt, he made haſt to his uſual Bathings and care of his Health, at what time *Parthenius*, chief Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, took him aſide, pretending he had got a Perſon in the Chamber who had

* *Meaning, that the Moon being to enter into Aquarius, the next day ſhe would find that Sign powring forth Blood inſtead of Water.*

‖ *But repriev'd him till he himſelf had eſcap'd the danger. By which means,* Domitian *being ſoon after kill'd, the Soothſayer eſcaped, and was by* Nerva *rewarded with a Preſent of Four hunder'd Seſterces.*

brought him a new diſcovery, the Examination of which was not to be delayd. Upon which the Company being all commanded to withdraw, he retir'd into his Chamber and was there immediately ſlain.

17. Various are the Reports concerning the manner of the Conſpiracy, and the manner of the Execution. For the Conſpirators being uneaſie and in a diſpute among themſelves when and how to attack him, whether in the Bath, or at Supper; *Stephanus*, who was *Domitilla*'s Steward of her Revenues, and at that time accus'd for having embezl'd ſeveral Sums of Money, offer'd them both his Advice and Aſſiſtance. To that purpoſe for the better avoiding all manner of ſuſpicion, he wore his Arm in a Scarf, ſwath'd up in Wooll, as if he had been lame, under which he thruſt a Dagger, againſt the hour appointed. Then taking his time, he pretended the diſcovery of a new Plot, and for that reaſon being admitted into the Chamber, while *Domitian* was reading a Paper which he had put into his hands, with great horror and aſtoniſhment, he ſtrook the Dagger into his Groin. Which done, while *Domitian*, finding himſelf thus wounded, was ſtrugling to defend himſelf, *Clodianus*, Commander of one wing of a Cohort, *Maximus*, *Parthenius*'s enfranchis'd Bondman, and *Saturius* one of the Overſeers of the Bed-chamber Men, with one of the Principal Gladiators, all ruſh'd in, and with ſeven Wounds diſpatch'd him quite. But a young Lad, who becauſe he had the care (according to Cuſtom) of the Houſhold Gods that belong'd to the Chamber, was preſent at the Murder, gave this farther Relation; how that *Domitian*, ſo ſoon as he

he had receiv'd his firſt wound, commanded him to reach him a Dagger that lay under his Pillow; and to call in help. But that there was nothing of the Dagger to be found, except the Hilt; and that as for the Doors they were all faſt lockt; ſo that there was no ſtirring out. Moreover that the Emperor having long ſtruggl'd with *Stephanus*, at laſt got him down upon the Ground, where he ſometimes endeavour'd to wreſt the Dagger out of his Hand, and ſometimes, with his Fingers all mangl'd as they were, to thruſt out his Eyes. He was ſlain the Eighteenth of *September* in the Forty fifth year of his Age, and the Fifteenth of his Reign. His Body was carry'd forth upon the common *Bier*, by the Hackney-Bearers, and burnt by *Phyllis* his Nurſe, in a Country Farm which ſhe had, not far from the City, upon the *Latin* Road. But his Aſhes ſhe privately carry'd into the Temple of the *Flavian* Family, where ſhe mix'd them with the Aſhes of *Julia*, the Daughter of *Titus*, whoſe Nurſe ſhe had alſo been.

18. His Stature was tall, his Aſpect modeſt, but his Countenance very red; his Eyes were very large, but weak-ſighted. He was handſom and well proportion'd in all his Limbs, except his Feet, by reaſon of his ſhort and ill-ſhap'd Toes. Afterwards he grew Bald, Swag-belly'd, and Gouty-legg'd, though indeed his Legs fell away again by reaſon of long ſickneſs. He was ſo taken with the Opinion which the world had of the modeſty of his Aſpect, that one day he us'd this vaunting Expreſſion in the Senate, *Hitherto you have had the Tryal of my Heart and of my Aſpect.* Yet his baldneſs troubl'd him to that

degree, that he would take it as an Affront put upon himſelf if any Man offer'd to call another Bald-pate, either in jeaſt or in earneſt. Yet in a ſmall Treatiſe which he dedicates to one of his Friends, entitled, *Of the care and preſervation of the Hair*, he inſerted this, *as well for his own as the Conſolation of his Friend.*

Οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι κἀγὼ καλός τε μέγας τε.

Doſt thou not ſee how fair and tall I am.

And yet the ſame Deſtiny attends my Hair with yours; and I am forc'd with patience to endure my Aged Locks in the midſt of my Youth. But thou art to know, that though there is nothing more grateful than Beauty, ſo there is nothing of more ſhort Continuance.

19. He was impatient of labour; ſo that he rarely walk'd afoot through the City. During his Military Expeditions, and when he led the Army, he very ſeldom rode a Horſe-back, but was generally carry'd in his Litter. He car'd not for any exerciſe of Arms, only he was extreamly addicted to Archery: Wherein he was ſo exquiſite, that People have ſeen him kill hunder'ds of ſeveral ſorts of Wild Beaſts; and fixing his Arrows wirh ſo much art, into their Heads, that at two ſhoots, he would as it were ſet a pair of Horns upon a Creature that had none. Sometime he would ſet a Boy to hold his hand at a good diſtance, with his Fingers ſpread wide open againſt a Wall, at which he directed his aim with that exactneſs, that the Arrows paſs'd all between the ſpaces of the Fingers without doing any harm to the Boys hand.

20. All kind of Liberal Studies he neglected at

at the beginning of his Reign. Though he were at vaſt charges to repair the Libraries conſum'd by Fire, and to refurniſh them with Books and Copies ſought for far and neer; and ſent *Amanuenſes*'s to *Alexandria* to write out anew ſuch as were loſt or had been disfigur'd by the Fire. Nevertheleſs he never gave his mind either to Hiſtory or Poetry; nor indeed to make uſe of his Pen where neceſſity requir'd. He read nothing but the Commentaries and Acts of *Tiberius Cæſar*; but as for his Epiſtles, Orations and Edicts, he had always his Secretaries both to word and write them for him. And yet in his Diſcourſe and *extempore* Speeches he was not unelegant; and had ſometimes alſo many notable Sayings: For example, *I wiſh*, ſaid he, *I were but as handſom as* Metius *thinks himſelf to be.* And obſerving a Perſon whoſe Hair was yellow mix'd with grey, quo' he, *There goes Snow and Mead mixt together.*

21. He bewail'd the Condition of Princes as moſt miſerable, who were never believ'd to have diſcover'd a Conſpiracy till they were ſlain. All his leiſure hours he ſpent in playing at Dice, even upon Holy-days and Worky-days, and in the Morning. He bath'd alſo in the day time, and fed plentifully at Dinner. But at Supper he ſeldom eat more than a *Matian* Apple, and drank only a ſmall draught out of a Viol. He feaſted often and ſplendidly, but for the moſt part never ſate long at Table, never after Sun-ſet, nor did he allow of Midnight Debauches. For till Bed-time he did nothing but walk all alone in private.

22. Being greatly addicted to Venery, he call'd *Frequent Coition* his *Bed-wreſtling*, as if it

it had been a kind of Exerciſe. And the report goes as if he himſelf would often ſmooth and depilate his Concubines, and ſwim among the moſt notorious Harlots. When his Brothers Daughter was offer'd him in Marriage, he would by no means accept of her, as being engag'd in Wedlock with *Domitilla*; but not long after, when ſhe was marry'd to another, he debauſh'd her of his own accord though *Titus* were then alive. But when her Father and Husband were dead, he lov'd her with a moſt paſſionate Affection, which he own'd before all the World; inſomuch that after he had got her with Child he forc'd her to miſcarry, which was the Cauſe of her death.

23. After he was ſlain the People ſhew'd but little ſorrow for his death; but the Soldiers bewail'd him exceedingly, and preſently endeavour'd to have given him the Appellation of *Divus*; ready to have reveng'd the Murder, but that they wanted Captains to lead them; which however they not long after did, when they demanded the Aſſaſſinates to be deliver'd up to Juſtice. On the other ſide the Senate were ſo overjoy'd at his fall, that in a full Court while every one ſtrove who ſhould be there firſt, they could not forbear reviling him in ſet Speeches full of bitter and contumelious Language; ſending him in their Curſes to the Gallows, and commanding his Dedicated Shields and Statues to be pull'd down before their Faces, and to be broken againſt the Stones; and laſtly making Decrees that all his Titles ſhould every where be raz'd out, and the very Memory of him utterly aboliſh'd. Some few days before he was ſlain, a Crow is ſaid to have ſpoken theſe words

in

in the Capitol; ἔσται πάντα καλῶς, *All ſhall be well.* Nor were there wanting ſome who thus interpreted the Prodigie.

Nuper Tarpeio *quæ ſedit culmine Cornix,*
Eſt bene, non potuit dicere; dixit, Erit.

The Crow ſo late on the *Tarpeian* Hill,
All is well, could not ſay; but ſaid, it will.

It is reported alſo, that *Domitian* ſhould dream that a bunch of Golden Fleſh grew out behind in his Neck; which he concluded to be a certain Preſage, that the State of the Commonwealth would be much more happy and flouriſhing after his Death; as indeed it fell out in a ſhort time, through the Abſtinence and Moderation of the ſucceeding Princes.

FINIS.